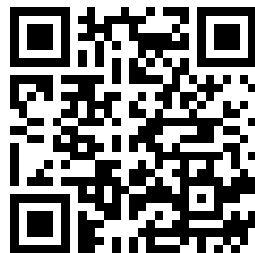

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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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An Old Assyrian Business Letter in the Medelhavsmuseet

Klaas Veenhof

Old Assyrian cuneiform tablets are to be found in many public and private collections of antiquities. They all seem to originate from one particular site, nowadays called Kültepe, the remains of the old Central-Anatolian city of Kaniš, located ca. 20 kms north-east of the modern town of Kayseri, and ca. 10 kms south of the Halys or Kizilirmak. Kaniš, also called Neša, played a prominent role in the early history of Anatolia, in particular during the first centuries of the second millennium B.C., just before the emergence of the Old Hittite kingdom. The city is closely linked with the career of the 'proto-Hittite' king Anitta, who is the subject of the so-called 'Anitta-Text' which, according to a recent analysis, is basically "eine Darstellung des Aufstiegs Nešas zur Vormachtstellung unter der Führung Anittas".¹ The document is preserved in a Hittite translation, apparently because the Hittite kings considered themselves in some way Anitta's successors and in particular because the text aims at providing a historical basis for the ideology of Hittite kingship.

The prominence of Kaniš, however buttressed by political and ideological considerations, rested also on firm economic foundations. The city functioned as a kind of 'central place' for ancient Anatolian trade, which ranged from the Black Sea to Northern Syria and Mesopotamia and from the plain of Konya in the West to beyond the Euphrates in the East. The evidence is provided by the Turkish excavations at Kültepe (since 1948), which have revealed not only the imposing architecture on the impressive city-mound, but also the extensive lower city (in particular levels II and I b) with the numerous houses and (work)shops, where traders and trade were concentrated.² While the archaeologists have brought to life a prosperous and wealthy suburb, it is only thanks to the thousands of cuneiform documents found there that we may form a rather detailed idea of

its economic activities.

The texts reveal that the lower city of Kaniš served in particular as a commercial settlement for Assyrian traders who in the course of the second half of the 20th century B.C. had moved there from their home town of Assur. From itinerant traders practising a kind of venture trade they had become merchants settled abroad (ultimately at times with their families) in trading posts and colonies attached to the main cities of ancient Anatolia. While the texts tell us that there existed at least ca. 20 such settlements, only three of them have been discovered up till now. Those at Hattuša (Boğazköy) and Alişar have yielded only a limited amount of information and only a few dozen texts, mainly from slightly younger periods. The main source of our information consequently is Kaniš, in particular *kārum* Kaniš, as the Assyrians called their settlement in the suburb, using a term which in Southern Mesopotamia, so rich in water traffic, denoted the quay or harbour district where goods arrived and were bartered and which functioned as "commercial quarter".

Kārum Kaniš must have yielded up till now around fifteen thousand cuneiform documents, the archives discovered in the houses of the traders. About three quarters of these have been brought to light by the Turkish excavations at Kültepe, undertaken annually since 1948 and directed by Professor T. Özgüç. Unfortunately only very few of the texts of the complete archives have been published up till now, although a variety of selected data culled from them has been made available in a few studies. Our knowledge of Old Assyrian trade, impressive as it may look,³ derives mainly from the ca. 3000 texts excavated before the regular excavations started, mostly by illicit local digging. Most of these have been published in cuneiform copies, in particular those acquired by the British Mu-

seum, Le Louvre, the Yale Babylonian Collection etc. The only exception are the texts discovered by B. Hrozný during one season of digging in 1925, about half of which have been published in the meantime, unfortunately with a very defective archaeological record, which makes it frequently impossible to identify the find spots or archives to which they belong. It should be added that practically no information on the Old Assyrian trade can be derived from the city of Assur itself, since the German excavations did not reach the older levels of the lower city, where the traders must have lived.

The texts discovered by native diggers since the last decades of the previous century have been sold, directly and indirectly, to a great number of museums and private collectors all over the world. In particular during the second world war many foreigners, confined to Turkey, must have acquired, locally, small collections of tablets, a number of which fortunately ended up in museums through sale or bequest. The letter acquired by the Medelhavsmuseet probably has a similar history.

The publication of these documents, even single ones, is useful, because it allows us, bit by bit, to reconstruct the archives to which they belong, originally stored in the houses of the traders in special archive-rooms, called "sealed room" or "guarded room". Here they were kept in jars, baskets or wooden tablet coffers, or on wooden shelves along the walls, in quantities ranging from a few dozen to a thousand tablets per room. The letter in Stockholm is addressed to a well-known trader, Imdilum, and is a most welcome addition since his archives and business have been the object of two detailed, independent investigations published in 1981 and 1982. The Turkish assyriologist Metin Ichisar completed a dissertation, in Paris, edited under the title *Les archives cappadociennes du marchand Imdilum* (Paris, ADPF, 1981; henceforth 'Ichisar'), where he edited and discussed ca. 200 documents and drew a sketch of Imdilum's family(-firm) and business relations. And his Danish colleague, M. Trolle Larsen, published the results of his analysis in a long article entitled "'Your money or your life!'", a portrait of an Assyrian businessman' (henceforth 'Larsen').⁴ Imdilum was a rather obvious choice to both, because he was a prominent trader whose activities are documented in a large number of texts, and in particular because his house was excavated by Hrozný in 1925. This provided the best opportunity of reconstructing an Old Assyrian archive (notwithstanding the limitations mentioned above), since all other archives have been

completely broken up and scattered by antique dealers.⁵ The information contained in the new letter can immediately be integrated into the picture of Imdilum's relations and activities which we already have.

Our letter, Medelhavsmuseet 1977/12, reads:

- ¹ [a-na I]m-dí-DINGIR qí-bi-ma
- ² [um-m]a Puzur₄-Ištar-ma
- ³ 31 ma-na 15 GIN KU BABBAR
- ⁴ ša-ru-pá-am ša-du-a-sú
- ⁵ ša-bu-ú ^dEN ZU-SIG₅
- ⁶ DUMU GUDU₄ ša ^dEN ZU
- ⁷ na-áš-a-kum . i-na lu-qú-tim
- ⁸ ša šé-ep I-dí-^dIM
- ⁹ ù A-na-lí a-šé-er 1 ma-na
- ¹⁰ ša I-ku-pí-a 2/3 GIN.TA
- ¹¹ ta-ú-ur-ma KÙ.BABBAR ú-du-ú
- ¹² i-ta-šu a-na ma-lá
- ¹³ ta-ši-im-tí-a KÙ.BABBAR 1/2 ma-na
- ¹⁴ e-ru-ba-ni 1 GÙ.TA AN.NA
- ¹⁵ ù 10.TA ku-ta-ni a-ma-lá
- ¹⁶ té-er-tí-kà a-na I-ku-pí-a
- ¹⁷ ù A-ḫu-wa-qar
- ¹⁸ ú-kà-al-ma.lá-qá-a-lam
- ¹⁹ ú-lá i-mu-ú
- ²⁰ i-na 82 TUG ḪI.A
- edge ²¹ ša ik-ri-bi₄-kà
- ²² ša šé-ep Ú-zu-a
- rev ²³ DUMU Li-ba-a ŠA.BA
- ²⁴ 5 TUG i-a-ú-tum
- ²⁵ 8 iš-ra-tum 4 TUG ni-is-/ḫa-tum
- ²⁶ 6 TUG ḫu-lu-qá-e
- ²⁷ ú-lá-mi-da-ni ší-tí
- ²⁸ TUG ḪI-tí-kà 60 LÁ 1 ŠA.BA
- ²⁹ 40 TUG ḪI.A a-ma-lá té-er-tí-kà
- ³⁰ a-na A-da-da DUB.SAR a-dí-lin
- ³¹ ší-tí TUG ḪI.A 20 LÁ 1 TUG iš-tí
- ³² lu-qú-tí-kà a-na Bu-ru-uš-/ḫa-tim
- ³³ ú-šé-ri-ib A-ḫu-/wa-qar
- ³⁴ la-qá-a-am
- ³⁵ ú-[lá] i-mu-a
- ³⁶ ší-[tí] AN.NA-ki-kà ù TUG ḪI-tí-kà
- ³⁷ a-na KÙ.BABBAR ú-ta-a-/ar-ma
- ³⁸ a-ta-be-a-ma
- ³⁹ [a]-ta-lá-kam iš-ra-tim
- ⁴⁰ [š]a ik-ri-bi₄-kà (MI)
- edge ⁴¹ [ša] É kà-ri-im ša
- ⁴² [il₅-q]é-ú-ni a-na qá-tí-kà
- ⁴³ ú-tá-ḫi
- left edge ⁴⁴ [] 1/3 ma-na AN.NA a-na Ú-zu-a
- ⁴⁵ [DU]MU Li-ba-a . a-pu-ul



Left edge



Obv.



Rev.



MM 1977 : 12
 Photographs:
 Margareta
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Lower edge



Upper edge

"Speak to Imdilum, thus Puzur-Ištar:

³¹*"With 31 minas 15 shekels of refined silver, its tax having been paid for, is Suen-damiq, the son of the priest of Suen, ⁷on his way to you. From the merchandise shipped by Idī-Adad and Annali – the (amount of) silver having been established after on top of Ikuppia's one mina (-weight) each time 2/3 shekel had been added; ¹²it proved that, in accordance with my estimate, (an additional) half mina had come in – according to your instruction, I offered lots of one talent of tin and 10 kutānu-textiles each to Ikuppia ¹⁷and Aḥu-waqar, but they refused to take them. ²⁰Of the 82 textiles which are your temple trust, ²²shipped by Uzua, son of Libaja, 5 textiles thereof are mine, 8 are the tithe (and) 4 the excise; ²⁶he charged me with 6 textiles as losses. There remain 59 of your textiles. ²⁹Of these I gave, according to your instruction, 40 textiles to the scribe Adada. ³¹Your remaining textiles, 19 pieces, I brought into Bur-ušl₃attum together with your (other) merchandise, (but) Aḥu-waqar refused to take them. ³⁶I will convert the rest of your tin and your textiles into silver, get ready and depart. The tithe ⁴⁰on your temple trust due to the kārūm-office, which they took, I have booked on your account. ⁴⁴I have paid Uzua, son of Libaja, [x +] 1/3 mina of tin."*

For the understanding of this letter the following general background information should be useful. Old Assyrian overland trade was carried out by family firms in the city of Assur with an 'Anatolian branch', headed by an able member of the family, in one of the colonies abroad, preferably in *kārūm* Kaniš, which was the administrative centre of the network of commercial settlements. This Anatolian based trader functioned as the firm's chief agent or director abroad and he was in particular charged with the administration of the business there, the sale of the goods imported by the firm's caravans and the shipment back to Assur of their yield. He disposed of a house in the *kārūm* with storing facilities, which also housed his archives. From there he kept in touch with his agents and representatives based in other Anatolian cities and with his travelling salesmen who had received lots of merchandise on consignment for sale. In due time, when he grew older, he might return to Assur, where his wife and relatives lived, to take up his responsibilities there, leaving the Anatolian scene to a younger member of the firm, not infrequently his son who had already acquired experience there under the guidance of his father.

The main goods imported by the Assyrians into Ana-

tolia were tin and textiles. There apparently was a steady Anatolian demand for the luxurious and rather expensive (from 15 to 30 shekels of silver apiece) woollen products, which were a traditional article of export of Southern Mesopotamia, so rich in sheep and wool. Some of these textiles were also manufactured by Assyrian women in a kind of home industry, but the bulk was imported from Babylonia by "Akkadians" who travelled to Assur with their products. Tin was vital to the Anatolian metallurgy which disposed of native copper but needed a considerable supply of tin for making bronze (we are in the Middle Bronze Period). Tin arrived in Assur from the east, from Iran or even further away, but its ultimate source has not yet been established.⁶ The traders we are concerned with buy it in Assur, normally in the "houses" of the firms, but we do not know who imported it from the east. There apparently was a fairly steady supply at prices which fluctuated between 13 to 16 shekels of tin for one shekel of silver.

Assyrian donkey caravans arriving in Anatolia first had to be cleared in the local palaces, where the native rulers levied taxes – an import tax and a right of pre-emption – before the goods could be sold on the free market. Part of the merchandise was sold by the main agent himself or his staff, other lots were entrusted to travelling salesmen (*tamkārūm*) who acted as commission agents and took goods on consignment for which they signed bonds. The goods were – directly or indirectly – converted into silver or gold, which was ultimately shipped back to Assur. There they were used for making the necessary payments (including taxes) and in particular for equipping a new caravan, which meant the purchase of a new load of tin and textiles. The preference for silver and, to a lesser extent, for gold reflects the fact that silver functioned as money in Old Assyrian trade: as standard of value and as universally accepted means of payment and indirect exchange. Using their skills, their network of communications and commercial settlements, and profiting from the considerable differences in the prices of tin, textiles and silver between Babylonia, Assyria, Anatolia and (presumably) Iran, the Assyrians were able to carry on a very profitable trade for three generations between ca. 1925 and 1850 B.C. (so-called middle chronology). It made Assur a prosperous city and a vital link between the complementary markets of Babylonia, Iran and Anatolia, for which it served a central place.

In our letter Imdilum is informed by his (eldest?) son

- Puzur-Ištar of a number of activities he has undertaken:
- he has sent of a considerable sum of silver to his father (lines 3–7a);
 - he has taken various steps in view of the sale of his father's merchandise which had been brought to him by various caravans (lines 7b–39a);
 - he has made certain bookings and payments (lines 39b–45).

The message about the consignment of silver sent off to his father reveals the situation in which the letter was written. Such shipments of silver, the proceeds from the sale of tin and textiles, are always sent from Anatolia to Assur. Accordingly we have to assume that Imdilum, after having spent many years in Kaniš, had returned home, leaving the business there to his brother Ennum-Bêlum and his own sons, a fact for which we have more evidence as pointed out by Larsen (p. 226 with note 60). Some of the correspondence of Imdilum's energetic, oldest daughter Ištar-bāšti also reflects this situation, as shown by Ichisar (p. 11 f.), in particular her letter KTS 1b, addressed to "our" Puzur-Ištar, where she writes: "My dear, . . . who else do we have over there but you and in whom else could your father put his trust over there but in you? Be a man and take good notice of your father's instructions and preserve your father's letter(s) carefully! Moreover, collect all outstanding debts due to him, convert your father's merchandise into silver, get ready and come here in order to see the face of (the god) Assur and your father's face, to make him glad". She further mentions her intention of accompanying him back to Kaniš in order "to take care of your father's house and yourself". I also note the fact that CCT 5, 41b (edited by Ichisar, p. 105 f.) records the consignment of in all about one talent of silver by an anonymous "I" (perhaps Puzur-Ištar) to Idī-Adad – also known from line 8 of our letter as a transporter – "to the address of Imdilum", apparently living in Assur together with his sister(?), who is mentioned in line 19.

If this is correct we have to assume that Puzur-Ištar kept an archives' copy of the letter sent to his father in Assur, which has been discovered in his house in Kaniš. In doing so he only followed his father's example, who once wrote to one of his angry agents: "I keep copies of all the letters which I am sending you!" (CCT 2,6:14 ff.). It is likely that several letters addressed to Imdilum – in particular those of his brother Ennum-Bêlum – are copies of tablets sent off to Assur, but it is not always easy to be certain. Imdilum's archives anyhow contained a number of letters sent by himself when

he lived in Assur, such as ATHE 59, addressed to Inah-ili after a difference of opinion had arisen: "You are my brother! Me and you, we are not men to come to words . . . Come to the City (of Assur) and let us meet face to face".

The person who is to deliver the silver in Assur is a certain Suen-damiq, son of a priest of Suen, by the name of Aššur-imitti, as we know from other texts. He is not a special agent or employee of Imdilum's firm and works also for other traders. The relatively small loads of silver sent to Assur (in our case ca. 15 kilograms) did not warrant a separate trip or caravan. Several traders apparently joined forces in trusting their bullion to one caravan, lead by men like Suen-damiq, also for reasons of security.

The passage which describes Puzur-Ištar's efforts to sell Imdilum's merchandise, shipped to Anatolia by his well known transporters and employees Idī-Adad and Annali (attested as such in many letters), starts with a difficult statement. The value of the goods apparently has been established by using a particular weighing stone – one of 1 mina belonging to a certain Ikuppia – after its weight had been slightly increased or some kind of surtax or agio had been added, as I have concluded in an earlier treatment of this formula.⁷ Our passage is unique in spelling out the estimated net effect of this operation. Ikuppia's weight was used probably because he, together with Aḫu-waqar (lines 16 f.), was the person who was to take part of the goods (in standard quantities) on consignment. But he refused to take them, just like Aḫu-waqar later on also refused to take a lot of textiles (lines 31–35).

The verbs "to offer", "to take" and "to give to" describe the way in which a trader tried to convert his goods into silver: By engaging agents or salesmen, who accepted lots of merchandise on credit after signing (sealing) a bond which stipulated the price in silver they had to pay, the term of payment, the interest due if this term was exceeded, and the date of the contract. In two cases in our letter (lines 18 f., 34 f.) such an offer or contract was refused. We can only speculate about the reasons for such refusals: the market may have been unfavourable, the conditions made by the owner may have been unattractive, or the agent's financial position might be such that he did not wish to take an additional consignment. The owners carefully preserved the bonds of such "commission agents" who had received merchandise on credit, and we have large tablets which summarize the contents of great numbers of such outstanding claims. One bond, BIN 6,228, mentions our

Ikuppia, son of Šū-Anim, being indebted to Imdilum for ca. 2 minas of silver, the price to be paid for a consignment of 17 1/2 textiles. A letter by Imdilum himself, KTS 20, instructs Puzur-Ištar's brother to send the merchandise, as soon as it has been cleared by the local palace, to the city of Buruṣṣattum (our letter line 32) to the address of Ikuppia and "your representatives" in order to have it sold for cash as soon as possible.

Lines 20 ff. mention a lot of textiles qualified as "your temple trust". The term used, *ikribū*, has been discussed repeatedly and seems to denote merchandise financed from temple assets, either money or treasures belonging to the temple itself (accumulated income, also from votive gifts pledged by the traders) or entrusted to the temple by individuals and used for profitable purposes such as investments in trade.⁸ Merchandise identified as *ikribū* is by no means rare in Old Assyrian trade and on this particular lot, shipped to Anatolia by Uzua son of Libaja, a well known agent of Imdilum (see Larsen p. 229), we have additional information. In a letter addressed to Puzur-Ištar, Ikuppia and Aḫuwaqar (CCT 2, 11 a, lines 27 ff.) and dealing with the sale of this merchandise and the payment of debts, Imdilum writes: "Ask Adada for the payment of the textiles, my temple trust, which he took (on consignment)". In a slightly later, more urgent appeal to Puzur-Ištar (KTS 19b) Imdilum asks him to take immediate steps to clear all accounts, collect all debts and to send the silver as soon as possible (perhaps because he was in need of money after having built an expensive house in Assur as we know from the letter LB 1208(!), edited by Ichisar, p. 241 f.). In this passage (misunderstood by Ichisar, p. 237) Imdilum writes: "Ask for the garments which are my temple trust, which you gave (on consignment) to Adada and make him pay the silver!" (collated). Adada the scribe, who is known from several other texts, notwithstanding his secretarial education and function, took part in the trade, acting as commission agent for some traders. According to one letter (TC 3.43:20) he even rented out his slaves as caravan personnel.

Of this lot of 82 textiles in the end only 59 are freely available for sale (lines 20–28). Five are the personal property of Puzur-Ištar, which shows that traders distinguished between goods acquired with private funds and the bulk of the shipment belonging to the firm or its boss, frequently bought with money invested by shareholders in the company. Two taxes are responsible for a further reduction with 12 pieces: the import tax of 5 %, called *nishatum*, "excise", and the "tithe", which is

normally the amount of textiles the local palace could buy at a reduced price. Finally there is a deduction due to unspecified losses, 6 pieces, which the leader of the caravan charged to him. The terminology suggests that it may have been his proportional share in a bigger loss, e.g. one of a whole donkey-load of normally ca. 25 to 30 pieces of textile.

Having given 40 pieces to Adada, Puzur-Ištar himself has brought the remaining 19 pieces into the city of Buruṣṣattum. This was an important more eastern trading centre, not yet identified but according to some perhaps hidden in the ruins of Acemhöyük, near Ak-saray south of Tuz Gölü (Salt Lake), where recent excavations have brought to light palatial buildings with a collection of sealed bullae which document commercial contacts with Assyria and Mari around 1800 B.C.⁹ Buruṣṣattum was particularly important for the Assyrians as the main silver market, the very metal which was the aim of their activities. In CCT 4,22b (Ichisar, p. 227) Imdilum writes about merchandise delivered by various transporters: "all this merchandise, tin and textiles, Aḫuwaqar and Amur-ilī should bring into Buruṣṣattum and sell for cash" (an instruction repeated in lines 28 ff.), apparently in order to acquire silver without delay. A similar instruction is contained in the letter CCT 2,5b (Ichisar, p. 231 f.): the merchandise shipped by Aḫuwaqar, son of Zuzur, should be carried to Buruṣṣattum in order to be sold for cash. In that city, according to KTS 20:9' ff., Imdilum's agent Ikuppia and his representatives were present to take care of the conversion into silver (Ichisar, p. 239). Since, however, Aḫuwaqar was not willing to take care of the sale this time, Puzur-Ištar himself will do it there and afterwards come back as soon as possible.

The last lines of the letter mention how he took care of some financial obligations. The tithe to be paid on the textiles, "of the *kārum*-office" (which I interpret as: due to the *kārum*-office"), "which they took", has been booked on Imdilum's account, i.e. to his credit. The meaning of this statement is not very clear. As mentioned above the "tithe" normally was the right of pre-emption granted to the local rulers, who had to pay for what they took as "tithe" but less than normal. If this is the meaning here we have to assume that the *kārum*-office took care of the transfer of payments between the palace and an individual Assyrian merchant; the payment due from the palace and received by the *kārum* was passed in its administration to Imdilum's credit. This is possible, because we have several additional indications that the *kārum* or its office, as the

administrative organ of the corporation of Assyrian traders abroad, performed such functions. In some respects it served as a kind of a bank of depot and accounting office, where individual merchants had "shares" or "contos" (litt. "hands"), to which one could pass amounts (*lapātum*, "to inscribe") and transfer items (our text: "to bring near to").¹⁰ Another possibility is that in this case the "tithe" is not what the local palace was entitled to, but a share which accrued to the *kārum* itself. We know from several texts that merchandise which was "temple trust" (*ikribū*) was exempted from certain taxes, in particular the "tithe" as due to the palace. What happened with the "tithe" in such cases is unknown, but we know from a few other texts that in certain cases the *kārum* itself received a "tithe". A third possibility is that the "tithe" does not refer to a tax or fee but to a merchant's share in the profits of certain transactions, perhaps also those in which temple trust was involved. Our text would mean that the share he is entitled to has been passed to the credit of his account.¹¹ Here I can only mention these different possibilities which require further analysis.

The last line of the letter offers less problems. Uzua, whom we have met as leader of a caravan in line 22, receives a small amount of tin. The verb used, *napā-lum*, "to balance", reveals its nature. Leaders of caravans always received a certain amount on loose tin, not packed in sealed containers, to meet expenses en route from Assur to Anatolia: transit fees, tolls, costs of food, fodder and lodging. It normally amounted to a sum equivalent to ca. one tenth of the value of the goods shipped. Upon arrival in Kaniš the leader of the caravan had to settle accounts and to account for the use of this "loose tin". Frequently he had been obliged to pay more than he had at his disposal (for which he had to draw upon his private purse). In that case he always received a balance payment to make up for the deficit.¹²

I hope that this contribution has shown how a single letter analysed and interpreted against the background of the general facts known of the Old Assyrian trade, and in particular within the context of the archives of the firm or trader from which it originates, acquires a rich informative value and helps to fill in details of a rather complicated picture of ancient economic history which proves to be more and more interesting.

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* I am grateful to Dr. Bengt Peterson who sent me, after I had noted the tablet among the accessions shown in *Medelhavsmuseet. En introduktion* (1982), p. 121 (to the left), excellent photographs made by Margareta Sjöblom, granted me permission to use the tablet for my research and accepted my proposal to publish this contribution in the Museum's Bulletin.

¹ F. Starke, 'Halmašuit im Anitta-Text und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 69 (1979), p. 47–176 (quotation from p. 114). The Anitta text was edited by E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Heft 18; Wiesbaden 1974).

² See simply the survey by W. Orthmann, 'Kaniš, kārum. B. Archäologisch', in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Bd. 5 (Berlin 1976–1980), p. 378–383.

³ Recent monographic studies are: P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963); M. Trolle Larsen, *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures* (Istanbul, 1967); L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* (The Hague, 1970); K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology* (Leiden, 1972; abbreviated AOATT); M. Trolle Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies* (Copenhagen, 1976).

⁴ Published in: *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff* (Warminster, 1982), p. 214–244.

⁵ See for the archival aspects my review-article, 'The Reconstruction and Edition of an Old Assyrian archive', to be published in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden).

⁶ See J. D. Muhly, *Supplement to Copper and Tin*, in *Transactions Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 46 (1976), p. 77–136, esp. p. 97 ff.; idem, *Iraq* 39 (1977), p. 75 ff.

⁷ See AOATT p. 61 ff.; an additional occurrence of the formula in the OA letter published in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7 (1975), p. 319 f., no. 5 (translation wrong; read in line 9: *iš-ti PN*, "due by PN").

⁸ See my remarks in *Iraq* 39 (1977), p. 113 f., with the observations by J. N. Postgate in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28 (1983), p. 157 ff. ("temples taking part in secular business affairs by using capital deposited with them", with Neo-Assyrian examples).

⁹ See N. Özgüç, 'Seal Impressions from the Palaces at Acemhöyük', in E. Porada (ed.), *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), p. 61 ff.

¹⁰ See for this function K. R. Veenhof, 'Kaniš, kārum. A. Philologisch', in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Bd. 5 (1976–1980), p. 374 f.

¹¹ See AOATT p. 286 with note 417.

¹² See for the "loose tin" and its use AOATT p. 257 ff., § 6.

Eine wiederentdeckte Statue aus Sakkara

Bengt Peterson

Während der verschiedenen Ausgrabungen in Sakkara 1925–26, die von Cecil M. Firth geleitet wurden, fand man südöstlich vom Djoser-Komplex ein Mastabagrab der fünften Dynastie, dessen *serdab* intakt war. In dem Schacht wurden elf Holzstatuen verschiedener Grösse angetroffen. Firths Rapport in *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* ist der einzige Bericht von diesem Funde: *A considerable area was cleared to the south of the southern Temenos wall in order to provide a place to deposit the rubbish taken from the Step Pyramid enclosure. Several Mastabas of the fifth and sixth dynasties were found here. In one tomb, that of Mitri, was found an untouched serdab containing eleven wooden statues of the early fifth dynasty. Two of which are illustrated on plate IV, A and plate V.*¹

Fünf Statuen wurden schon in den zwanziger Jahren dem Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York überlassen², während die anderen in Ägypten blieben. Nach Angabe von W. C. Hayes sollte eine Statue weggeworfen worden sein³, weshalb also fünf übrig waren. Von den zwei von Firth abgebildeten ging anscheinend nur eine, die Statue einer Frau, gleich zum Museum in Kairo (JE 51738), während die Statue eines Schreibers (nun Kairo JE 93165) in Sakkara blieb.

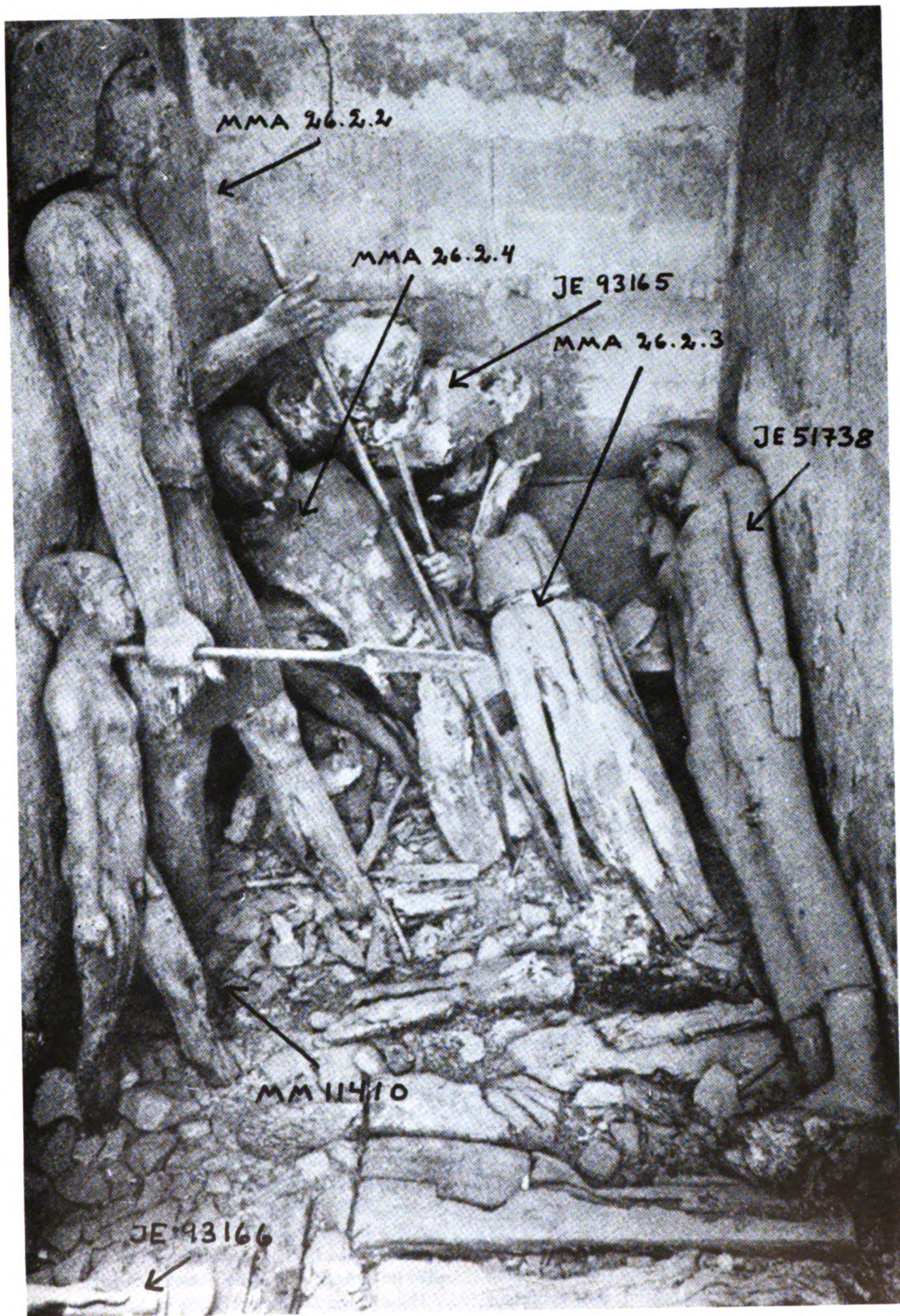
Die gesamte Gruppe wurde 1946 von W. Stevenson-Smith in seinem *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* übersichtlich behandelt⁴. Von denen in Ägypten erwähnt er die beiden von Firth abgebildeten sowie noch eine kleine Statue, einen buckligen Mann (JE 52081), der zuerst 1931 publiziert wurde⁵, worauf dann Abbildungen in mehreren Werken folgten.

Das nächstmal wurden die Statuen 1953 von W. C. Hayes in seinem Übersichtswerk der Sammlung im Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Scepter of Egypt*, erwähnt⁶. Er beschreibt alle fünf Statuen in New York:

die zusammengehörende Gruppe von Mann und Frau (MMA 26.2.2.3), noch zwei von einem Mann und einer Frau (MMA 26.2.4 und 26.2.5), weniger gut erhalten, und schliesslich eine Sitzstatue des Grabinhabers (MMA 26.2.6).

Der Ägypter Abd el Hamid Zayed hat 1956 in seinem Buch *Trois études d'égyptologie* konstatiert⁷, dass sich nur zwei Statuen im Museum von Kairo befanden, nämlich die von Firth abgebildete Frau (JE 51738) und der bucklige Mann (JE 52081). Er hat die Magazine in Sakkara durchsucht und dann zwei Ausgrabungsphotos vom *serdab* des Grabes gefunden. Auf diesen konnte er zusammen acht Statuen sehen, von denen vier die in New York waren. Der bucklige Mann in Kairo und die fünfte Statue in New York (MMA 26.2.5) sind auf den Photos überhaupt nicht sichtbar, sowie wohl natürlich das elfte Stück, das wahrscheinlich wegen schlechter Erhaltung ausgesondert worden war. Von den vier übrigen wusste er ja, dass die Frau (JE 51738) in Kairo war. Zwei Schreiberstatuen, von denen eine bei Firth abgebildet war, waren noch in Sakkara magaziniert. Die zweite wurde von Zayed identifiziert. Die beiden sind in seiner Studie ausführlich beschrieben. Jetzt sind beide in Kairo inventarisiert (JE 93165 und 93166). Von der letzten noch übrigen Statue auf dem einen Photo, die einen nackten Mann oder Jüngling darstellt und die nicht in Sakkara wiedergefunden wurde, sagt er: *la statuette de l'enfant doit être considérée comme perdue*.

Das grössere *serdab*-Photo nach Stevenson-Smith, wo sieben von den Statuen deutlich erkennbar sind. Dicht neben JE 93166 befand sich MMA 26.2.6, was aus dem kleineren Photo bei Zayed hervorgeht.



W. Stevenson-Smith behandelte 1958 die Gruppe erneut. Er hat das grosse *serdab*-Photo, das Zayed fand, auch benutzt und abgebildet in seinem Buch *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*⁸. Er scheint aber nicht mit Zayeds Buch bekannt gewesen zu sein. Stevenson-Smith nennt besonders den nackten Mann, den er nur von dem Bild kennt: *One statue, presumably of the owner, shows him naked, as do other Old Kingdom statues like the fine wooden figure in Boston of Senezemib Mehy, the Vizier of Unas, from his Giza tomb.*

Die Bibliographie zum Grab und zu den Statuen wurde 1979 in der neuen Auflage der *Topographical Bibliography* zusammengefasst⁹, jedoch mit Ausnahme der zehnten Statue, weil niemand wusste, dass sie sich seit langem in Stockholm befand, (Medelhavsmuseet MM 11410).

In Stockholm wusste man ebenfalls nichts von der Identität dieser Statue, die 1935 nach Schweden gekommen war. Sie war eine von den altägyptischen Antiquitäten, die durch den damaligen Kronprinzen Gustaf Adolf während seiner Orientreise 1934–35 direkt von der ägyptischen Altertumsverwaltung für das Stockholmer Ägyptische Museum erworben wurde. Keine Angaben über die nähere Herkunft wurden damals gegeben, nur Sakkara. Die Statue war und ist das schönste Beispiel für Skulptur des Alten Reiches in Stockholm. Sie wurde einmal in einer populären Beschreibung der Stockholmer Sammlung abgebildet¹⁰ und war auch in der grossen Ausstellung *5000 år egyptisk konst* im Nationalmuseum ausgestellt¹¹. Sie ist ausserdem als Einzelfund ohne genauere Herkunft aus Sakkara in der *Topographical Bibliography* aufgenommen.¹²

Zur Erkenntnis der Identität kam es aber erst 1983, als Professor May Trad, Dr. Beate George und der Verfasser im Museum von Kairo gewisse Antiquitäten studierten. Professor Trad erzählte von ihren Bemühungen, die Identität von Mitri klarzulegen, und wir gelangten zu seiner eben neurestaurierten und neuausgestellten Schreiberstatue (JE 93165). Sie hatte Probleme, alle seine Statuen wiederzufinden, um weitere Studien zu dieser Person zu machen. Bei diesem Gespräch vor der Schreiberstatue wurde es den Stockholmer Besuchern gleich klar, dass die bewunderte Stockholmer Statue dieser Gruppe angehören musste, was bei einem Blick auf Mitris Frau, die im selben Museumssaal steht, noch überzeugender wurde. Dann konnte die Identität bald durch ein Studium des Photos vom *serdab* bestätigt werden. Für die Frage der Identität des Mitri, ob alle Statuen ihm ursprünglich gehörten, und für eine Studie der ganzen Gruppe möchte man hoffen, dass Professor

Trad die Gelegenheit fände, ihre Beobachtungen ausführlich darzulegen. In diesem Artikel soll die Statue nur photographisch dokumentiert werden, damit die Schönheit einer dieser Statuen aus der dunklen Kammer in Sakkara endlich auch zu der wissenschaftlichen Welt gelangt. Leider muss man beklagen, dass der Ausgräber, wie in so vielen anderen Fällen auch, nie zu einer Veröffentlichung seiner Funde gekommen ist.

¹ C. M. Firth, Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara (1925–1926), ASAE 26, 97 ff.

² Bulletin, Metropolitan Museum of Art, XXIII, New York 1928, 92. Hier werden aber nur 3 Statuen als Neuerwerbungen angemeldet.

³ W. C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, Part I, New York 1953, 110.

⁴ W. Stevenson-Smith, A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, London 1946, 60.

⁵ J. Capart, Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien II, Paris 1931, Taf. 21.

⁶ W. C. Hayes, op.cit., 110 f.

⁷ Abd el Hamid Zayed, Trois études d'égyptologie, Kairo 1956, 14 ff.: *Deux Statues de Scribe accroupi en bois (Mitri) dans les Magasins de Saqqara.*

⁸ W. Stevenson-Smith, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, Harmondsworth 1958, 77 and pl. 52 (B).

⁹ PM III:2, 632.

¹⁰ G. Lugn, Det Egyptiska Museet i Stockholm. Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok 1937, Stockholm 1937, 189.

¹¹ 5000 år egyptisk konst, Nationalmusei utställningskatalog Nr 265, Stockholm 1961, Nr 29.

¹² PM III:2, 731.

Die Statue ist aus dunkelbraunem Holz hergestellt. Der Mann ist nackt, mit dem linken Bein voran stehend; die Arme gerade herabhängend, die Hände geschlossen um einen kurzen Stab. Um den Hals Spuren von gemaltem Halskragen, weiter von einer Halskette, die auf die Brust herabhängt. Kurze Frisur mit Anfängen von Backenbart. Kräftig markierte Augenbrauen; Augäpfel stark gewölbt; Nase schwach gebogen mit tief gebohrten Nasenlöchern. Kleiner Mund mit kräftigen Lippen und gebohrten Mundwinkeln. Kleinere Spuren von Bemalung fleckenweise auf der ganzen Statue. Am Rücken entlang längliche Flecken mit Spuren blaugrüner Farbe. Vom Scheitel an der Vorderseite bis zur linken Leiste ein tiefer Spalt im Holz. Beine abgeschlagen direkt unterhalb der Waden. Im übrigen viele kleine Schäden im Holz.

Höhe 82 cm, Schulterbreite 25 cm, Kopfhöhe 12–13 cm.













Zwei neue Dokumente zum Ahnenkult in Deir el Medineh

Bengt Peterson

Mehrere Fragmente von einem literarischen Text, der Weisheitslehre des Ani, sind in Deir el Medineh gefunden worden. In diesem Buch findet man die Ermahnung, für Vater und Mutter, die in ihren Gräbern sind, zu opfern. Tatsächlich ist viel vom Totenkult in Deir el Medineh bekannt, jedoch muss man nunmehr auch einen besonders ausgeprägten Ahnenkult beachten, der von den Praktiken bei den Gräbern gesondert war. In einer interessanten Abhandlung hat R. J. Demaree 1983 das Material gesammelt, das zum erstenmal ausführlich diese Sonderform einer persönlichen Religiosität beachtet¹. Eine Gruppe von privaten Denkmälern, die schon seit langem bekannt war, ist durch Demarees Forschungen erweitert worden.

Es handelt sich um kleine Kalksteinstelen, die verstorbene Personen beider Geschlechter abbilden, alleine oder zusammen, meistens auf Stühlen oder Thronen sitzend, den Duft von Lotusblumen genießend. Alle diese Personen sind mit einem *terminus technicus* gekennzeichnet; sie sind *3ḫ lkr n R**, eine Bezeichnung, die sie teils als treffliche Abgeschiedene und teils als zum Sonnengott Re Gehörige benennt. Die Stelen waren in Häusern oder besonderen Votivkapellen in Deir el Medineh angebracht, waren also von den immerhin nicht fernen Gräbern abgegrenzt. Die Gruppe besteht aus 55 Dokumenten, von denen 47 aus Deir el Medineh stammen. Die meisten gehören der ramessidischen Zeit an, hauptsächlich der 19. Dynastie. Dieselben Personen kommen manchmal wiederholt vor, weshalb man bedenken muss, dass es vielleicht nur eine kleine Gruppe von den Abgeschiedenen in Deir el Medineh war, die diesen Kult genießen konnte.

Die Bewohner von Deir el Medineh sind wahrscheinlich in ihren religiösen Praktiken eine Ausnahmegruppe in der ägyptischen Gesellschaft. In meiner Abhandlung *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt*² habe ich mehrmals

die Auffassung zu unterstreichen versucht, dass die besondere isolierte Situation dieser Nekropolenarbeiter, Handwerker und Künstler und die spezielle Lage der Siedlung in der thebanischen Totenstadt sowie die durch Generationen immer wieder vererbten Berufe die Lebensweise auf allen Gebieten geprägt haben. Die Beziehung Mensch und Gott, Leben und Tod war dort anders gelagert als in „normaleren“ Siedlungen. Deshalb ist es kein Wunder, dass man anderswo in Ägypten keine vergleichbare Monumentgruppe antrifft; sie ist eine Sondererscheinung, die von der Religiosität dieser Leute getragen ist.

Die Personen, denen die Stelen gewidmet waren, mussten durch Opfer unterhalten werden, sie konnten im Alltagsleben sowie im Totenreich von Einfluss sein, sie hatten mit den Göttern, nicht zuletzt mit Re, Verbindung und konnten als Mittler zwischen Mensch und Gott auftreten. Die Stelen sind eben die Kontaktpunkte, die Kommunikationsmöglichkeit, im Dorf leicht zugänglich. Diese Eigenschaft haben wahrscheinlich auch andere Erscheinungen in Deir el Medineh gehabt, wie gewisse Skulpturen, die *bustes laraires*, die jedoch noch nicht abschliessend dokumentiert und interpretiert sind.

Die Absicht dieses kleinen Artikels ist, noch zwei Dokumente dieser Gruppe bekannt zu machen. Zwei vorher nie veröffentlichte Stelen im Medelhavsmuseet sollen hier vorgelegt werden. Beide sind vor 1866 erworben, nähere Herkunft und Erwerbsweise sind unbekannt. Sie waren vor 1866 im Königlichen Museum, seit 1866 im Nationalmuseum und wurden erst 1982–83 aus den Lagerräumen des Nationalmuseums an das Medelhavsmuseet überführt. Sie sind früher nur kurz in J. D. Liebleins Katalog der ägyptischen Sammlung des Nationalmuseums von 1868³ erwähnt.

NME 50 (ehemals KM 521),
Kalkstein 21 × 19.5 cm.

Die Seiten der Stele sind roh belassen; die Stele war wohl ursprünglich oben abgerundet, ist aber jetzt dort beschädigt. In versenktem Relief ausgeführt sieht man zwei Stühle mit Rückenlehnen, die auf einer Standlinie stehen. Auf diesen sitzen zwei Männer einander gegenüber. Der rechte trägt Perücke, Halskragen und langen Schurz. In einer Hand hält er eine Lotusblume, die andere liegt geballt auf dem Schoß. Sein Auge ist besonders sanft modelliert; seine Umrisse sind nicht durch Linien markiert. Der linke Mann hat keine Perücke, dagegen aber einen Halskragen. Sein Gesicht ist beschädigt. Sein langer Schurz ist gefältelt. Zwischen den beiden steht ein Opfertisch traditioneller Art. Unter dem Stuhl des rechten Mannes liegen zwei Kürbisse und eine Feige (vgl. Demaree A 15). Besonders zu beachten ist ferner die Partie, wo die Füße der beiden Männer sich überschneiden. Dem Hersteller des Bildes ist es nicht gelungen, den unteren Teil des Opfertisches hier über den Füßen darzustellen. Die kleine Partie zwischen den Füßen und Gewändern ist unbearbeitet gelassen.

Sieben vertikale Textzeilen sind zwischen den Männern und oberhalb von ihnen eingraviert. Die drei rechts beziehen sich auf den rechten Mann, die vier links auf den linken:

Rechts: [𓂏] 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏

(Osiris) *Trefflicher Geist des Re Pennub, (der selige).*

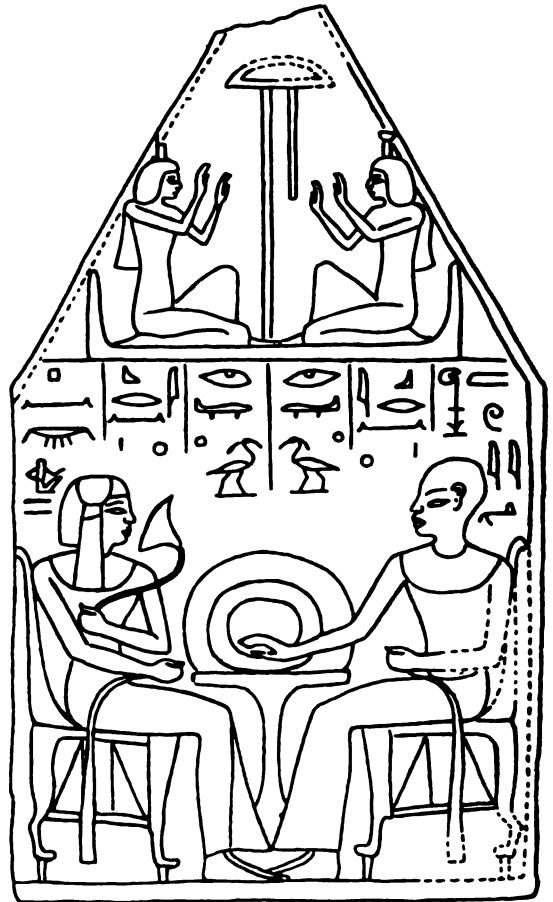
Links: [𓂏] 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏

(Osiris) *Trefflicher Geist des Re (Cha)ma, der selige.*

Die beiden Personen, die hier erscheinen, sind von anderen Dokumenten schon bekannt. Beide kommen wiederholt zusammen vor (Demaree A 35–39), bisweilen findet man Chamuy auch allein (Demaree A 32–34). Die Schreibung seines Namens auf der Stockholmer Stele weicht von der Normalform 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 ab⁴. Identische Schreibungen sind jedoch zu finden (z.B. Demaree A 38). Nur wegen der Paralleldarstellungen der beiden Männer zusammen kann man freilich einwandfrei den auf der Stockholmer Stele beschädigten Namen ergänzen.

Demaree hat ausführlich die Belege aus Deir el Medineh für diese beiden Männer gesammelt. Es gibt einen Arbeiter namens Chamuy in anderen Dokumenten, während der Name Pennub⁵ für Männer zweier verschiedener Generationen vorkommt. Eine Beziehung zwischen den beiden oder ferner mit der Frau

Uchbet, die einmal mit den beiden dargestellt ist (Demaree A 39), ist nicht festzustellen. Die Personen gehören offenbar der 19. Dynastie an, eine Datierung, die auch stilistische Züge dieser Stele wahrscheinlich machen.



Stele mit Chamuy und Pennub, British Museum 372. Nach Demaree, A 36.



NME 50



NME 61

Diese Stele ist von geläufiger, oben abgerundeter Form. Die Seiten sind ziemlich roh belassen. In versenktem Relief erscheinen zwei Bildregister. Oben sitzt nach links gewendet ein Mann auf einem Thron. Er trägt keine Perücke, hat aber einen Halskragen und einen kurzen Schurz. In einer Hand hält er eine Lotusblume, die andere hält er vor sich und empfängt mit offener Hand die auf dem Opfertisch vor ihm liegenden, stilisiert dargestellten Gaben, u.a. Brot. Ganz links steht noch ein Korb mit Gaben (vgl. Demaree A 5).

॥ १०८ ॥

Der Name bereitet gewisse Schwierigkeiten. P3 ist ohne weiteres klar; die Gruppe darunter ist beschädigt und könnte vielleicht statt ꜥ auch ꜥ gelesen werden. Im letzten Fall hätten wir den Namen *Pare*⁶, der im Neuen Reich vorkommt. *Pahemneter* findet sich oft auf Ostraka aus dem Königsgräbertal, also in Verbindung mit Deir el Medineh-Bewohnern der 19. und 20. Dynastie⁷. Das Determinativ des Namens ist deutlich in der letzten Zeile; das Zeichen vor ihm dürfte als *m3** gedeutet werden.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Die beiden Männer hier erscheinen auf keinem anderen bekannten Ahnenkultdokument aus Deir el Medineh. Die Stele dürfte aber klar zu dieser Gruppe gezählt werden, obwohl keine exakte Parallele zu der Bildaufteilung aufzuzeigen ist. Zu dem seltenen Charakter der Ahnenkultstelen gehört auch das Phänomen, dass die Toten auf Thronen sitzen, was sonst Göttern und Königen vorbehalten ist. Hierzu gibt es Parallelen

¹⁰ B. Peterson, *op.cit.*, Nr. 56.

Four Pieces of Royal Sculpture from the New Kingdom at Stockholm

Ingegerd Lindblad

In the following pages, I shall examine and describe in detail three pieces of royal sculpture in the round and one piece in relief at the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm. The relief and one of the sculptures have so far been unpublished; the remaining sculptures have previously only been cursorily treated.

A Royal Tuthmoside Head

In 1937, the Egyptian Museum in Stockholm came into possession of a head (Pls. 1–4), the head MM 11423, from the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at Sesebi in the Sudan, 1936–37.¹

The material is black granite. The max. height is 23.5 cm, the max. width 9.8 cm and the max. depth 12 cm. The approx. height of the face is 7.6 cm and the height of the ear 3 cm. The head was found in the debris of the three temples at Sesebi.² The upper part of the crown is missing. The head has been broken off at the upper part of the neck. On the right, a large part of the neck is broken away. The nose is smashed and the chin is badly rubbed. The middle part of the mouth, the sides of the cheeks, the right eyebrow, the rim of the upper eyelids, the left cosmetic line and the surface of the crown are also rubbed. The ears are damaged to a great extent. At the back, remnants of the upper part of a back pillar are preserved; the lower part has been restored with plaster. There is a trace of reddish-brown colour on the right side of the neck.

The head wears the Crown of Upper Egypt with a tapering pillar at the back. The crown is seemingly high and shows an elongated curvature *en face*. It has no ear-tabs. However, there are patches of hair, indicated by incised lines directly in front of the ears. The rather horizontal rim of the crown at the forehead, descending

towards the temples, and the curved rim at the neck are marked in relief. Traces at the front show that an uraeus was once attached at the rim. There are no signs of a beard or beard-strap.

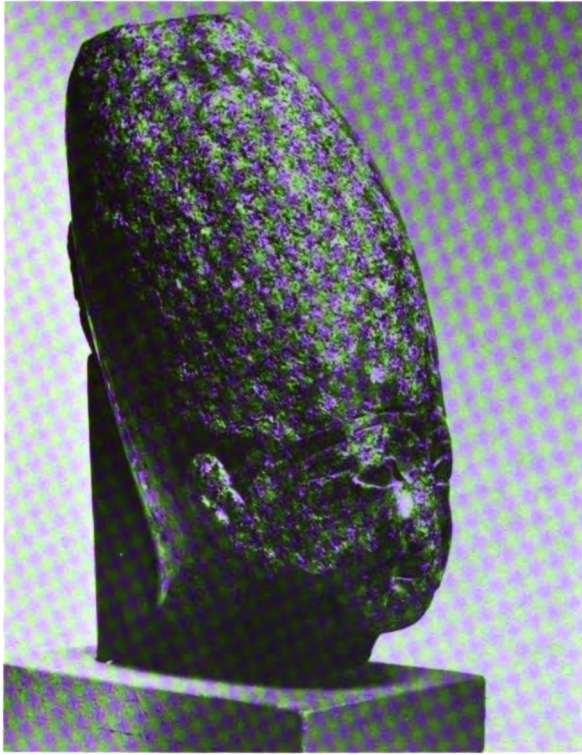
The face is rather U-shaped.³ The upwards-expanding sides of the face are faintly rounded. The receding forehead is flat. Both jaws are situated in front of the root of the nose, the lower only slightly so. The cheeks are evenly rounded with no distinctly emphasised volumes. The max. protrusion in three-quarter profile of the cheek is at the level of the wing of the nose. The badly rubbed chin is short and was probably rounded. The base of the chin descends somewhat towards the neck. The area of the eyebrow and upper eyelid fit into the same, slightly curved plane, apart from above the inner canthi, where depressions have been made. Also below the eyes there are depressions, more pronounced towards the nose.

The medium-sized eyes are rather wide-open and horizontally situated. The upper contour runs in an even arch; the lower runs horizontally before it rises towards the outer canthi. The inner canthi are plastically clearly modelled. The rim of the upper eyelid is executed in relief, while that of the lower is plain. The eyeballs are globular, markedly diminishing in volume towards the inner canthi. They do not protrude beyond the upper eyelids. The uniformly thick eyebrows are indicated in relief and rise in wide curves well above the eyes. They are closer set than the eyes and have rounded ends above the inner canthi. The equally in relief and uniformly thick, cosmetic lines descend somewhat at the temples, in parallel with the eyebrows.

The badly smashed nose is slightly broader than the distance between the eyes. The root is set at the level of the upper eyelid and is plastically hardly distinguished from the outline of the forehead, in profile. The partly



1. MM 11423



2. MM 11423

3. MM 11423



4. MM 11423

preserved, right wing is plastically slightly modelled. The area of the philtrum is too destroyed to allow of any conclusions being drawn.

The smiling mouth is somewhat broader than the bottom of the nose. The lips seem to have been rather thin, and the edges are sharp. The upper, more horizontal lip diminishes only slightly in thickness towards the corners, where it just ends. The lower diminishes considerably towards the corners, showing an almost pointed shape at that point. Thus, the lips do not join at the corners.

The smallish ears are too highly situated in relation to the eyes and tilted. The remaining parts show them to have been well modelled, with clearly indicated ear-conches.

The head is a fine example of the current schematic type in Egyptian art. Although schematic, the face is made up of a smooth, almost uniform surface with integrated planes. There are no clearly separated planes. There is a faintly convex tendency at the orbital area, as well as of the facial structure on the whole. There are no exaggerated shapes or modelling; the curvature of the crown is elongated, as is the shape of

the eyebrows. The shape of the eye is simplified – yet not quite “hieroglyphic” – and the smile is modest.

As I mentioned above, the head was found in the debris of the temples at Sesebi, founded by Amenhotep IV in the earlier part of his reign.⁴ However, it is out of the question, for stylistic reasons, that this head should have originated at that time. The excavator identifies it as Hatshepsut, with reference to statues of the queen found at Deir el Bahari by the excavators from the Metropolitan Museum.⁵ In the following pages, the attribution to Hatshepsut will be tested.

The head shows subtly modelled, well-integrated planes and certainly dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty. A date before Hatshepsut is to be excluded for these reasons.⁶ On account of the rather wide-open, horizontally positioned eyes, with raised eyebrows, and the rather short mouth, the reign of Tuthmose III is the latest period in which it would fit.

On looking at the sculptures of Hatshepsut, one finds no correspondence between this head and the “feminine”, seated statues of the queen.⁷ They are more individualistic in the modelling, showing a triangular, receding face, very arched eyebrows and rather narrow, elongated eyes. Tefnin dates this type to the beginning of the reign.⁸ Nor does it accord with the more horizontally structured heads of the Osirian pillars, type A, reflecting the style of Tuthmose I and Tuthmose II, dated by Tefnin to the earlier part of the reign.⁹ The succeeding Osirian types B and C, recalling the style of the seated statues, though more stylized in the case of type B, are accordingly not comparable.¹⁰ Only the small, kneeling statues with “la forme arrondie du visage”, with the more elongated curvature of the raised eyebrows and with a similar shape of the eyes and mouth accord plastically with the head under discussion.¹¹ These statues originated in the later part of the reign, year 15 or 16, according to Tefnin.¹² However, on comparing the Sesebi head with the sculpture of Hatshepsut as a whole, a difference is found, namely the execution of the transition between forehead and nose. The sculpture of Hatshepsut, to my knowledge, always shows a clear, plastic differentiation at this point; the jutting bridge of the nose is evident. On the Sesebi head, this transition is hardly visible; the forehead and the upper part of the bridge of the nose run almost in an unbroken line.

On examining the sculpture of Tuthmose III, one finds several examples that are reminiscent of the Sesebi head.¹³ Especially MMA 14.7.15 is interesting. The facial structure seems the same, judging from pho-



5. British Museum 986

tographs, as is the rather short, smiling mouth and the elongated curvature of the crown. In the British Museum, there is a head (Pl. 5), unfortunately not-inscribed, that to my mind is very similar to the head in Stockholm.¹⁴ The facial shape, the shape and modelling of eyes and eyebrows, and the spacing of the sensory organs are parallel. The BM head is more delicate as regards the execution, perhaps partly due to the finer-grained material from which it has been made. The BM head has been alternatively dated to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III.¹⁵ In the present state of research, it is not possible to identify, with certainty, the exact monarch represented.¹⁶ It should also be pointed out that Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III were coregents. However, to resume the reasoning above concerning the transition between forehead and nose, one finds that this particular spot is undifferentiated on several statues of Tuthmose III.¹⁷ This is also the case with depictions in relief.¹⁸ In a way, this has been pointed out by Lipínska, who prefers a date in the later part of the reign for the appearance of this feature.¹⁹

The undifferentiated transition between forehead and nose (not recorded in the sculpture of Hatshepsut),

the more rounded, facial type that is uncommon as regards Hatshepsut but less so as regards Tuthmose III, and the elongated arch of the eyebrows make a date in the reign of Tuthmose III preferable. An origin in the later part of the reign of Hatshepsut cannot, however, be definitively excluded.

Returning to the provenance, objects indicating habitation at Sesebi earlier than the time of Amenhotep IV were found, namely finds dating from the reigns of Amenhotep II and Tuthmose IV and two scarabs bearing the name of Tuthmose III.²⁰ The scarabs further may support a dating of the head in the reign of Tuthmose III, but still do not exclude an earlier dating.

The type represented by the Sesebi head shows features of two types in the Eighteenth Dynasty already evident in the sculpture of Ahmose, namely Ahmose A2 and C4.²¹ The first type shows tense, raised shapes, but the second is more horizontally structured. These types occur also in the reign of Amenhotep I.²² In the reigns of Tuthmose I and Tuthmose II, only the horizontal type is represented, while in that of Hatshepsut both occur, as we have seen above. According to Müller, in the sculpture of Tuthmose III, the former type belongs to the earlier part of his reign and the latter, more horizontally modelled type to the later part.²³ If the head in Stockholm is looked upon as a transitional type to these two types, it may possibly be dated in the middle or later part of the reign of Tuthmose III. This dating would also fit in with the reasoning of Lipinska and with the finds at the temple at Deir el Bahari, built in the last decade of the reign of Tuthmose III.²⁴

Finally, the comparatively "heavier" structure of the face may possibly be explained by the provenance at Sesebi. In the case of the sculpture of Ahmose and Amenhotep I, the heads found in the Sudan are "heavier" in appearance than those originating in Egypt, a fact explained by the local manufacture.²⁵ Thus, this feature vaguely announces the style of the Meroitic Period.

A Relief of Amenhotep II

In 1932, a relief (Pl. 6), MM 10995, was acquired by the Egyptian Museum from R. G. Gayer-Anderson.²⁶ According to him, the provenance was Karnak in Egypt.

The material is alabaster with some flaws; towards the bottom, a vein of crystal crosses the fragment horizontally. The max. height is 20 cm, the max. width 9.2 cm and the max. depth 4 cm. The height of the head

(excluding the neck) is 10.1 cm.

The more or less rectangular fragment seems to have been removed by a saw. Apart from a break at the upper, right-hand corner, the surface of the sides is straight, as is the back. Above and below, the surface is oblique. The relief is, on the whole, well preserved, though the upper part of the surface is more worn. There are also some chipped parts – the edge to the left on the upper half of the relief, in connexion with the horizontal vein of crystal, at both ends, and at the throat. A fissure runs vertically through the lower jaw.

On the fragment, almost the whole of the head of a royal person is depicted in sunken relief; only the extreme back of the head is missing. Above, the upper part of the crown is missing; below, the main part of the neck is preserved. The royal person is dressed in the *ibes* wig with an uraeus at the front. He also wears the *šwty* (double feather crown), with the ram- and cow-horns, mounted on a *kalathos* provided with an uraeus circlet. The wig ends in an oblique edge below and is decorated with stripes that radiate vertically from the crown of the head. Right above the forehead, the stripes run horizontally, but obliquely at the side of the face. The uraeus seems to be attached right at the rim of the wig on the forehead. Its rather thin, elongated body rises vertically in front of the head. The body shows no detail modelling. The head is very thin and almost detached from the body. Encircling the *kalathos*, there are now three uraei (a fourth is vaguely traceable), each carrying a sun disc on its head, clearly visible. These uraei are sturdier and, in spite of the worn surface, plastically modelled details like the shield and eye are clearly distinguishable. Above the *kalathos* on the right, part of the twisted horn of the ram is visible. It is traversed by the curved cow-horn, clasping a sun disc. To the left, the very low parts of these horns are still visible. To the right, two sunken, vertical lines mark the outer limit of the high feather.

The face has a clean-cut profile. The receding forehead shows a faint discontinuity at the level of the eyebrow. The root of the straight nose is clearly set off from the forehead. The wing of the nose is indicated by a semi-circular incision and the tip of the nose points upwards.²⁷ The philtrum juts forward in a slightly concave shape. The mouth is rather short. The lower lip is somewhat thicker than the upper one and clearly situated behind the upper. The contour of the upper lip is flattish and oblique, the contour of the lower one is flat and vertical. The lips do not quite join at the corner; the upper lip diminishes slightly in thickness towards



6. MM 10995

the corner, where it ends in line with the pointed end of the lower lip. Right below the mouth, the contour of the lower jaw runs in a concave shape, while the chin proper has a vertical, flattish outline that continues in a horizontal line towards the neck.

The rather narrow, elongated, almond-shaped eye is almost vertically situated at the level of the root of the nose and very close to the contour of the face. The lower lid is plain, while the upper has a volume of its own. The upper eyelid overlaps the lower and ends close to the rim of the wig in a prolonged, pointed shape. Its lower limit is clearly marked by a horizontal incision. Thus, there is no real cosmetic line. The inner canthus is plastically slightly emphasised. The eyebrow runs rather close and rather horizontally above the eye. It begins almost at the contour of the forehead and ends in line with the prolonged, upper eyelid. It is much thicker at the inner canthus, diminishing gradually towards the outer canthus and seems to end in a pointed shape.

Although the relief is an example of the schematic type, the face also shows a subtle, plastic modelling. A depression is clearly indicated below the eye, thus emphasising the yokebone. There are also depressions below and at the wing of the nose, as well as below the mouth. The roundness of the cheek is accentuated by depressions towards the neck.

As the relief is anepigraphic, a stylistic reconstruction will have to be made, in order to place it in its proper context. Judging by the appearance, it belongs somewhere in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This type of face, representing a rather horizontal structure and showing a straight nose with an upwards-pointed tip, is not known before Tuthmose II.²⁸ This king is depicted with a wide mouth, a wide-open eye and a forehead that continues almost without interruption into the bridge of the nose. However, these are features that do not accord with the depiction on the present relief. The iconography does not fit into this period, and the style of the relief does not correspond to that of the period immediately following. Hatshepsut is generally depicted with more wide-open eyes, raised eyebrows, an aquiline nose and a shorter, lower jaw.²⁹ Tuthmose III is sometimes represented with a horizontally structured face, but then again with more wide-open eyes, a wider mouth and a less accentuated root of the nose.³⁰ Representations of the succeeding king, Amenhotep II, accord very well with the figure on the relief³¹ as do, more or less, some depictions of Tuthmose IV.³² However, sculptures of Tuthmose IV often show features that

foreshadow the style of the later Eighteenth Dynasty, like a shorter nose, more voluminous mouth and pronounced, obliquely positioned eyes.³³ Besides, the wig shown on the relief is not known in the material of Tuthmose IV.³⁴

Having settled for the reign of Amenhotep II, a closer scrutiny of the different aspects is required. The profile with the upper jaw well in front of the root of the nose, the lower less so, the accentuated root of the straight nose with an upwards-pointed tip, the rather short mouth and the straight contour of the chin fit very well with depictions of Amenhotep II, as shown in the work of Myśliwiec.³⁵ Applying the method demonstrated by Tefnin,³⁶ the upper limit of the forehead is equally in line with the corner of the mouth, cutting through the inner canthus of the eye. The horizontal position of the eye, at the level of the root of the nose, and the closeness to the contour of the face are also typical. The actual shape of the eye is a further argument for a date in this reign.³⁷ Even the shape of the upper eyelid and the way in which it overlaps the lower have parallels.³⁸ A comparison of the proportions of the face with those of Myśliwiec's Fig. 102³⁹ shows correspondences as regards the distance from the upper limit of the forehead to the root of the nose, the length of the nose and the distance from the bottom of the nose to the chin. The next question is whether the iconography fits into the period here suggested. According to Myśliwiec, the *ibes* wig is a particularly important, dating criterion for Amenhotep II.⁴⁰ This king introduces a new type of wig with an oblique edge below and is mostly represented with this type of wig. The exact execution of the wig varies, however.⁴¹ The execution and fashion of the uraeus at the front also has parallels in the reliefs of Amenhotep II.⁴² Even the type of crown worn is known in this period.⁴³

Searching for evidence of reliefs in alabaster dating from the reign of Amenhotep II, one finds blocks of an alabaster shrine excavated by Pillet in 1924 at Karnak.⁴⁴ The first excavated block is a lintel and a detail of the reliefs thereon has been published by Myśliwiec,⁴⁵ (pl. 7). It is unfortunately rather damaged, but the type of crown worn and possibly the wig are similar.⁴⁶ The alabaster used is recorded as rather faulty by Pillet. On the fragment in Stockholm, the vein of crystal is an evident flaw. Pillet stresses the small dimensions of the depicted figures and gives the height of the standing king as 72 cm. This means that the size of the relief in Stockholm would fit into this context, according to the canon of proportions applied in the New Kingdom.



7. Amenhotep II. Alabaster relief in Karnak. After Myśliwiec.

Pillet mentions several blocks of alabaster of large dimensions, visible at the foundation of the pylon of Amenhotep III, which probably belong to the same building.⁴⁷

Thus, having settled for the reign of Amenhotep II and after making a close scrutiny of the various aspects, I find that the relief in Stockholm falls nicely into place. I suggest that this relief was removed from a block belonging to the shrine in alabaster that was found at Karnak. The provenance at Karnak, as given by Gayer-Anderson, seems accordingly to be well founded.

Fragment of a Head Dating from the Reign of Tuthankhamun

The third object at the Medelhavsmuseet to be treated is the lower part of a head, MM 15407 (Pls. 8–10), dated by Peterson⁴⁸ in the reign of Tuthankhamun. Nothing is known of its provenance or when or how it was acquired by the museum.

The material is black granite with white spots. The max. height is 12.5 cm, the max width 13 cm and the max. depth 13.5 cm. There is a trace of reddish brown colour below the chin, right at the inner limit of the beard on the left side.

The facial shape seems a very fine oval. The cheeks are evenly rounded with no emphasised, separate volumes, except at the corners of the mouth, where pronounced, plastic folds are modelled. The transition between the lower jaw and the neck is smooth. The chin is faintly rounded in profile, and its base descends slightly towards the neck. A beard, that seems to get narrower below, is attached at the chin.

Only parts of the bottom of the nose remain. It was rather narrow and had rounded, plastically modelled wings. The philtrum is plastically indicated. *En face*, it diverges towards the mouth; in profile, it shows a concave, jutting shape.

The full-lipped, serious mouth is clearly broader than the nose. The modelling is realistic, not to say naturalistic. The upper lip is fuller and seems longer. The contour of the mouth is indicated by a very faint rim. The Cupid's bow shows a generously rounded curve that begins right at the corner of the mouth. At the middle of the upper lip, somewhat below the contour, a separate, convex shape is indicated. This shape is repeated in the wavy, middle line of the mouth, which descends at this spot. Also in profile, this extra volume shows in the differentiated outline of the upper lip. The lower lip is faintly convex and set behind the upper one. The lips seem to join at the corners, where rounded depressions and folds are plastically modelled.

The ear is tilted and situated slightly too high. The lobe is pierced rather far down. The modelling is realistic, judging by the preserved part.

As I mentioned above, the modelling of the fragmentary head tends towards the naturalistic, especially in the execution of the mouth. As regards the dating of the head, the pierced ear excludes an origin earlier than the Amarna period. One clue to the *terminus ante quem* is the specific modelling of the mouth, and therefore I shall make a brief survey of similar modelling of the mouths of royal heads in Egyptian art. As early as the fourth dynasty, a related modelling of the mouth can be observed on statues of Mycerinos.⁴⁹ The particular modelling in the middle part of the mouth, resulting in a wavy, middle line, is evident here. To my knowledge, there are no parallels to this modelling of the mouths of royal heads in the Middle Kingdom. Not until the reign of Amenhotep I does a related type of execution oc-



8. MM 15407



9. MM 15407

cur.⁵⁰ Then there is a gap until the reign of Amenhotep III, in which statues showing this kind of mouth were produced, though in a more stylized fashion.⁵¹ In the succeeding reign of Akhenaten, the mouth is similar, though very voluptuous in an expressionistic way.⁵² Towards the later part of the Amarna period, the modelling of the mouth becomes, in comparison, more modified and is very close to that of the head under discussion.⁵³ As regards the reign of Tuthankhamun, there are several parallels, that, to my mind, are almost identical with the fragment.⁵⁴ As regards the succeeding reigns of Ay and Horemheb, there are very few statues that can with certainty be attributed to these kings.⁵⁵ However, the mouth shows a similar modelling, but the expression is more morose than that of the Stockholm fragment.⁵⁶ For comparison, Müller, in his excellent article on the sculpture of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, has pointed out this tendency to a more sombre, sceptical expression, evident also in the private sculpture dating from the time of Ay to the early reign of Horemheb.⁵⁷ The realistic modelling of the mouth occurs next in the sculpture of Ramesses II. In comparison with that of the fragment under discussion, the execution is again more stylized and “academic” and the expression is a smiling one.⁵⁸ Thus, judging by the execution and expression of the mouth, the reign of Ay seems to be the *terminus ante quem*.



10. MM 15407

The facial shape shows a fine oval and proportions that portray the depicted person as young. Also for that reason, the period of Ay and Horemheb can be excluded. In the few, surviving, securely dated statues, they are both represented as older and with a more “powerful”, lower jaw and chin. The depicted person being a male, Akhenaten is the only person to be considered in the late Amarna period. However, a variety of statues dating from this period shows him with a chin both longer and more detached than that on the head under discussion, as well as with a mouth with downwards-pointing corners.⁵⁹ What is more, the plastic folds at the corners of the mouth were perhaps conceived in the Amarna period but were not present in the pronounced fashion of the Stockholm head until the period immediately following. It follows from the reasoning above that the head may be dated to the reign of Tuthankhamun and consequently Peterson’s dating is here supported.

The next question is whether it is possible to determine precisely who is depicted, Tuthankhamun or a god. On looking into iconographic details such as pierced ears, one finds both kings and gods of this period with pierced ear-lobes,⁶⁰ so that study of these details does not solve the problem. As a rule, the “royal” beard becomes wider below, while the “divine” beard gets narrower below. The Stockholm head is

bearded and enough of the original limits at the sides of the beard are preserved to indicate a beard that diminishes below. This means a "divine" beard and that a god is represented. In the reign of Tuthankhamun, the god Amun was restored; he was frequently depicted and with the same features as the king.⁶¹ The fragment in Stockholm is very similar to the statue of Amun in Brussels,⁶² as well as to that of the god Khonsu in the Cairo Museum.⁶³ Furthermore, it has the same dimensions as the Amun head and is likewise made of black granite. Perhaps it was originally made in connexion with that head. To sum up, the Stockholm head very likely represents a god probably belonging to the Theban triad.

A Head of a Ramesside Colossus

In 1981, the Medelhavsmuseet acquired a head, MME 1981:20 (Pls. 11–13), which came from Sotheby's.⁶⁴ Apart from the picture in Sotheby's catalogue, the head is unpublished and nothing is known of its previous history.

The material is fine-grained, black granite with grey and pink spots. The max. height is 36.5 cm, the max. width 33 cm and the max. depth 26.5 cm. The height of the face is approx. 23 cm and the height of the ear 13 cm.

The head is badly damaged and mainly the front part has been preserved. Above, the head is broken obliquely from above the right ear towards the left side across the temple. Below, it is broken through the upper part of the neck. The right-hand, lower part of the face is partly broken away. The nose and mouth are smashed. The right cheek is chipped far up, the left at the level of the mouth. The uppermost part of the ear is also chipped. The left eyebrow is smashed, the eye partly so. The right eyebrow is rubbed, as are the eyeball and the upper contour of the right eye. The raised part of the uraeus is damaged.

The king is dressed in the *nemes* with an uraeus at the front. The *nemes* is striped in relief; every second stripe is polished and the others are left unpolished. The band round the forehead is broad, and only the upper edge is marked in relief. The uraeus is attached right at the upper edge; it curls in two rather wide convolutions, the first to the right. Below the chin, close to the neck, there are the remains of a beard. There is no trace of a beard-strap, though.

The facial shape is a kind of rounded triangle. From

the level of the yokebone upwards, it curves slightly inwards. Downwards, it becomes considerably narrower. The forehead is low and markedly recessive. The max. protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter profile is at the level of the alea. There are depressions all along the eyes, more pronounced towards the nose. Owing to these depressions and to the depressions at the alea, an extra volume is modelled in between. Apart from this detail, the cheeks are evenly rounded in a convex fashion.

The medium-sized eyes are elongated and horizontally situated in the frontal plane of the face. The eyes are downcast, with softly curved contours. The rim of the upper eyelid is in relief, and the lower is basically plain, though a faint, plastic differentiation can be sensed. The upper contour rises obliquely at the inner canthus, then descends very gradually in an elongated curve towards the outer canthus. There is possibly an additional line on the upper eyelid, some distance above the actual rim. The eyeballs are globular, with plastically differentiated irises. There are deep depressions above the inner canthi. Towards the outer canthi, the eyes are brought out more in the surface plane. The badly destroyed, jutting, superciliary arches shadow the orbital area. The eyebrows were horizontal and seem to have been executed in a mixture of plastic modelling and relief. The outer ends were modelled in shallow relief, like the descending, cosmetic lines.

The nose is somewhat broader than the distance between the eyes. The root seems to have been situated high up, at least at the level of the upper eyelid. There are traces of a plastically modelled philtrum.

The mouth is slightly broader than the nose. There is a rounded depression at the corner, as well as a fold extending obliquely downwards. There are traces of a smile.

The well-modelled ear is medium-sized, slightly tilted and situated high up. The lobe is pierced.

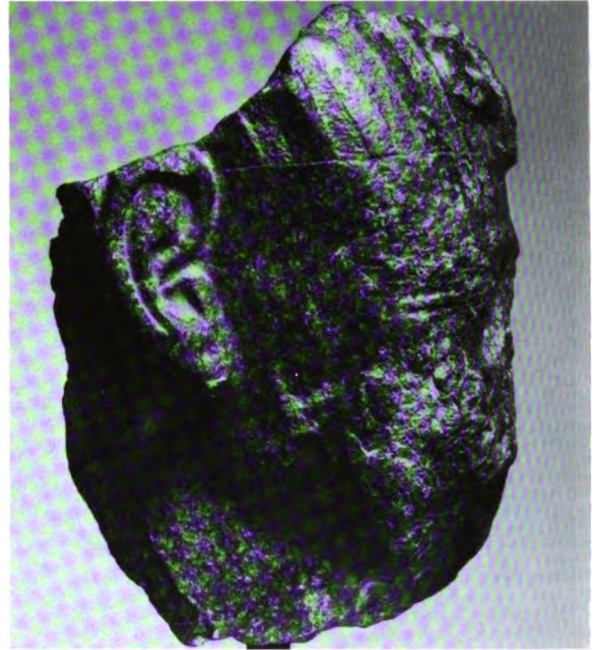
The customary analysis of stylistic features and iconographic details has to be undertaken in order to date an uninscribed head. The pierced ear-lobe, together with the plastic fold at the corner of the mouth, indicate a post-Amarna date. The downcast, elongated eyes with horizontal eyebrows and the kind of convex face with a pronounced, receding, low forehead argue for an origin in the early Nineteenth Dynasty and an identification with Ramesses II is here suggested. Ramesses II is probably the best-recorded king, as regards the quantity of sculpture surviving, often of a colossal size.⁶⁵ He is depicted in various styles, which include features taken



11. MME 1981:20



12. MME 1981:20



13. MME 1981:20

from earlier kings, for example, Amenhotep III and Sethos I. Vandier⁶⁶ distinguishes three groups:

- (a) A triangular face, characterized by elegance and finesse.
- (b) A rounder face, coarser and "heavier", often colossal in size.
- (c) A mixture of types (a) and (b).

This classification is rather superficial and in no way exhaustive. A special study of the sculpture of this period is desirable. Resuming the stylistic analysis of the head, the same facial shape, with deep depressions below and partly above the eyes, can be noted on several statues of Ramesses II.⁶⁷ The elongated, softly curved eyes with descending, cosmetic lines and horizontal eyebrows are also paralleled.⁶⁸ It is also easy to find parallels for the particular execution of the eyebrows, which shadow the orbital area, as well as for the modelling at the corner of the mouth.⁶⁹ Even the forwards-tilted position of the head is current in the sculpture of Ramesses II.⁷⁰ The iconography of this king is found to fit well. The king is mostly depicted in the *nemes*,⁷¹ often with a broad band and an uraeus parallel to that on the head under discussion.⁷² A special detail of the *nemes* of the Stockholm head is the fold above the temple. It is here positioned far back, at the side of

the face. In the New Kingdom, up to the reign of Hatshepsut, it was positioned approx. above the middle of the eyebrow, in three-quarter profile.⁷³ In the sculpture of Hatshepsut, it is removed further back,⁷⁴ though not so far back as on the head under discussion and this detail is not, to my knowledge, fully paralleled until the reign of Ramesses II.⁷⁵ Thus, the suggested identification with Ramesses II draws support from many sides. The colossal size, as such, may be a further argument for this dating, since the king was often depicted in larger than life.

The period immediately preceding has not been touched upon, owing to the fact that it is very poorly known. There is no statue of Ramesses I with the head preserved and only a few of Sethos I are dated with certainty, though poorly published.⁷⁶ When this situation is considered together with the state of preservation of the Stockholm head, it is extremely difficult to judge whether an origin in the preceding period is possible. There are also statues that have been alternatively dated to the reigns of Sethos I and Ramesses II, for example, Turin 1380,⁷⁷ and there is, of course, a great likeness between the two kings, as they were so close in time and tradition.

The situation is the same in the period immediately following the reign of Ramesses II,⁷⁸ and the reasoning

above applies to that period as well. However, on the whole, the style of the succeeding period is more stereotyped and the face becomes rounder and does not correspond to the, in comparison, softer and "warmer" modelling of the head under discussion.

In view of the vast amount of sculpture that has survived from the reign of Ramesses II and the obvious parallels found in both the style and the iconography, the identification with Ramesses II proposed here is the most likely.

¹ Blackman, A. M., 1937. Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi, Northern Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 23, p. 147, Pl. XVI, 1. London. The head is mentioned and reproduced by Peterson, B., 1967. *Archäologische Funde aus Sesebi (Sudla) in Nord-Sudan*. *Orientalia Suecana*, Vol. XVI, pp. 7-8, Figs. 10-11. Uppsala. It is also mentioned by Porter, B., & Moss, R., 1951. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, VII. Nubia, The Deserts, and Outside Egypt, p. 172. Oxford, and Altenmüller, H., 1979. *Königsplastik. Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, III, p. 594. Wiesbaden. There it is wrongly quoted as E. 1449 for E. 1423.

² Blackman, A. M., op. cit., p. 147.

³ For the terms and points of reference used in the article, see Lindblad, I., 1984. *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*. *Medelhavsmuseet Memoir*, Vol. 5, pp. 11-13. Stockholm.

⁴ Blackman, A. M., op. cit., p. 148.

⁵ See note 2.

⁶ Lindblad, I., op. cit., p. 48.

⁷ Tefnin, R., 1979. *La Statuaire d'Hatshepsout: Portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e dynastie*. *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* IV, p. 23, Pls. I-V. Bruxelles.

⁸ See note 7.

⁹ Tefnin, R., op. cit., p. 69. Pls. VIII-IX.

¹⁰ Tefnin, R., op. cit., pp. 69-70, Pls. X-XIII.

¹¹ Tefnin, R., op. cit., p. 94. Pls. XXIIb-XIII.

¹² See note 11.

¹³ Legrain, G., 1906. *Statues et statuettes de rois et particuliers*, Tome I, Pl. XXIX. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Le Caire; Nofretete & Echnaton, 1976, No. 1. Mainz; Schott, E., 1945. *Egyptian Statues*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pl. 8. New York; Seipel, W., 1983. *Bilder für die Ewigkeit*, No. 68. Konstanz.

¹⁴ Hall, H. R., 1927. *Head of a Monarch of the Tuthmosid House*, in the British Museum. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 13, pp. 133-134, Pls. XXVII-XXX. London.

¹⁵ See note 14.

¹⁶ Tefnin has also expressed the view that there are certain statues that just do not allow of a definite attribution, in

connexion with the BM head (personal communication).

¹⁷ Aldred, C., 1951. *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt*, Pl. 36. London; Scamuzzi, E., 1964. *Museo Egizio di Torino*, Pls. XXIV-XXV. Torino. See also note 19, Figs. 4-7.

¹⁸ Myśliwiec, K., 1976. *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*. *Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*, Tome 18, Figs. 76-77, 85 and 89-93. Warszawa.

¹⁹ Lipńska, J., 1966. *The Portraits of Tuthmosis III newly discovered at Deir el-Bahari*. *Mélanges Michalowski*, pp. 129-138. Warszawa.

²⁰ Blackman, A. M., op. cit., p. 149.

²¹ Lindblad, I., op. cit., p. 69.

²² See note 21.

²³ Müller, H. W., 1952-53. *Ein ägyptischer Königskopf des 15. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Ein Beitrag zur Stilentwicklung der 18. Dynastie*. *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Band III-IV, pp. 72-73, Pls. 6 and 9-12. München.

²⁴ Lipńska, J., op. cit., p. 129.

²⁵ Lindblad, I., op. cit., p. 48, Pl. 7a-c.

²⁶ Dawson, W. R., and Uphill, E. P., 1972. *Who was Who in Egyptology*, p. 115. Second edition. London; Gaye-Anderson, R. G. J., 1948. *Christeros and other Poems*. Shrewsbury.

²⁷ The vein of crystal is particularly evident at this point and, on this account, the execution of the tip of the nose is somewhat blurred.

²⁸ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Fig. 39.

²⁹ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Figs. 66-70 and 72.

³⁰ See note 18.

³¹ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Figs. 99 and 101-104.

³² Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Fig. 120.

³³ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Figs. 115-116 and 118.

³⁴ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Pl. CXLVI.

³⁵ See note 31.

³⁶ Tefnin, R., 1983. *Essai d'analyse formelle du visage royal égyptien un relief de Touthmosis III aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles*. *Artibus Aegypti Studia in Honorem Bernardi v. Bothmer*, pp. 153-177, Figs. 1-17. Bruxelles.

³⁷ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., p. 59, Fig. 102.

³⁸ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., pp. 59-60, Figs. 101 and 104.

³⁹ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit.

⁴⁰ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., p. 62.

⁴¹ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Figs. 101-104.

⁴² Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Figs. 99, 101, 103-104 and 111.

⁴³ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Figs. 102, 111 and 114.

⁴⁴ Pillet, M., 1924. *Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1923-1924)*. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Tome XXIV, pp. 57-59, Pl. I. Le Caire; Porter, B., & Moss, R., 1972. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, II. Theban Temples, pp. 71 and 270-271. Oxford.

⁴⁵ Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Fig. 114.

⁴⁶ See note 45 and Pillet, M., op. cit., Pl. I.

⁴⁷ Pillet, M., op. cit., p. 58. See also Pillet, M., 1925. *Rapport*

sur les travaux de Karnak (1924–1925). *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Tome XXV, pp. 14–15, Pl. IV. Le Caire.

⁴⁸ Peterson, B., & George, B., 1973. *Två faraoner*, pp. 49 and 82. Borås; Medelhavsmuseet – En introduktion, 1982, pp. 56–57. Stockholm.

⁴⁹ Vandersleyen, C., 1975. *Das Alte Ägypten. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Band 15, Pls. 131–132. Berlin.

⁵⁰ Lindblad, I., op. cit., Pls. 11, 15 and 17.

⁵¹ Vandersleyen, C., op. cit., Pl. 190; *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art*. Cairo, American Research Center in Egypt, 1979, Figs. 62 and 64. Mainz.

⁵² Vandersleyen, C., op. cit., Pl. 191.

⁵³ Vandersleyen, C., Pls. XV. 196–197.

⁵⁴ Capart, J., 1927. *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, Pls. 33–34. Paris; Desroches-Noblecourt, C., 1963. *Tutankhamen*, p. 6, Pls. XXVI, XLII and LVII. London; Donadoni, S., 1978. *Ägyptisches Museum Kairo*, p. 123. Verona; Vandier, J., 1958. *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Tome III, 2 parts. *Les grandes époques, la statuaire*, Pl. CXVII, 3–4. Paris.

⁵⁵ Vandier, J., op. cit., pp. 367–371.

⁵⁶ Vandier, J., op. cit., Pls. CXIX, 1. and CXX, 4–5.

⁵⁷ Müller, H. W., op. cit., p. 29, Pls. 14, 18 and 19.

⁵⁸ Vandersleyen, C., op. cit., Pls. 202–203.

⁵⁹ Aldred, C., 1973. *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, Nos. 94–95, 175. New York; Capart, J., op. cit., Pl. 31; Vandier J., op. cit., Pls. CX, 1, 3, and CXI, 1, 4.

⁶⁰ Donadoni, S., op. cit., p. 123; Desroches-Noblecourt, C., op. cit., Pl. XLII.

⁶¹ Forman, B., & Forman, W., & Wilimkova, M., 1962. *Ägyptische Kunst aus den Sammlungen des Museums in Kairo*, Fig. 80. Hanau/Main; Hayes, W. C., 1959. *The Scepter of Egypt*. Part 2, Fig. 185. Cambridge, Mass; Porter, B., & Moss, P., op. cit., p. 90; Vandier, J., op. cit., Pls. CXVIII, 1–5, CXIX, 3, and CXXI, 1.

⁶² Capart, J., op. cit., Pls. 33–34.

⁶³ Donadoni, S., op. cit., p. 123.

⁶⁴ Sotheby's Catalogue of Antiquities, July 1981, p. 20, Fig. 44. Uxbridge, Middlesex.

⁶⁵ Vandier, op. cit., pp. 392–393.

⁶⁶ Vandier, op. cit., pp. 393–398.

⁶⁷ Maystre, C., 1963. *Égypte antique*, p. 9. Genève; Michalowski, K., 1971. *Luxor*, Pl. 24. Warszawa; *Ramses Le Grand*, 1976, p. XIX. Paris; *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*, 1976, Nos. 83–84. München; Vandersleyen, op. cit., Fig. 203; Wolf, W., 1957. *Die Kunst Ägyptens*, Fig. 551. Stuttgart.

⁶⁸ Borchardt, L., 1930. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, Fig. 558. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Berlin; *Ramses Le Grand*, op. cit., p. XIX, Pl. LXXII; *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*, op. cit., Fig. 83; Vandersleyen, op. cit., Fig. 203.

⁶⁹ Borchardt, op. cit., Fig. 558; Michalowski, op. cit., pp. 13 and 24; *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*, op. cit., Figs. 83–84; Vandier, op. cit., Pl. CXXVII, 4.

⁷⁰ Borchardt, op. cit., Figs. 616 and 620; Vandier, op. cit., Pls. CXXVI, 1–4.

⁷¹ Vandier, op. cit., p. 408.

⁷² Borchardt, op. cit., Figs. 558 and 573; *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art*, op. cit., Fig. 128; Maystre, op. cit., p. 9; Michalowski, op. cit., Fig. 13; Müller, H. W., 1961. *5000 Jahre ägyptische Kunst*, Fig. 116. Essen; Müller, H. W., 1970. *Ägyptische Kunst*, Fig. 148. Frankfurt am Main; *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*, op. cit., Figs. 83–84; Vandier, op. cit., Pls. CXXVIII, 4, 6.

⁷³ Lindblad, op. cit.

⁷⁴ Tefnin, op. cit.

⁷⁵ Borchardt, op. cit., Fig. 558; Müller, H. W., 1961, op. cit., Fig. 116; *Ramses Le Grand*, op. cit., Pl. XLIX; Vandersleyen, op. cit., Fig. 203; Vandier, op. cit., Pl. CXXVIII, 6; Wolf, op. cit., Fig. 551.

⁷⁶ Vandier, op. cit., pp. 391–392.

⁷⁷ Vandier, op. cit., pp. 393–394.

⁷⁸ Vandier, op. cit., pp. 398–400.

Thoth als Ibis und Pavian

Beate George

Einer der grossen Götter des alten Ägypten, dessen Kult über lange Zeit weit verbreitet war und dessen Wesen und Wirkungsweisen durch moderne Studien in vielen Zügen dokumentiert sind¹, ist Thoth. Zwei Götterbilder in der Stockholmer ägyptischen Sammlung, die ihn darstellen, sollen aufgrund ihrer hohen ästhetischen Qualität hier präsentiert werden. Thoth ist in Gestalt seiner heiligen Tiere als Ibis und als Pavian wiedergegeben.

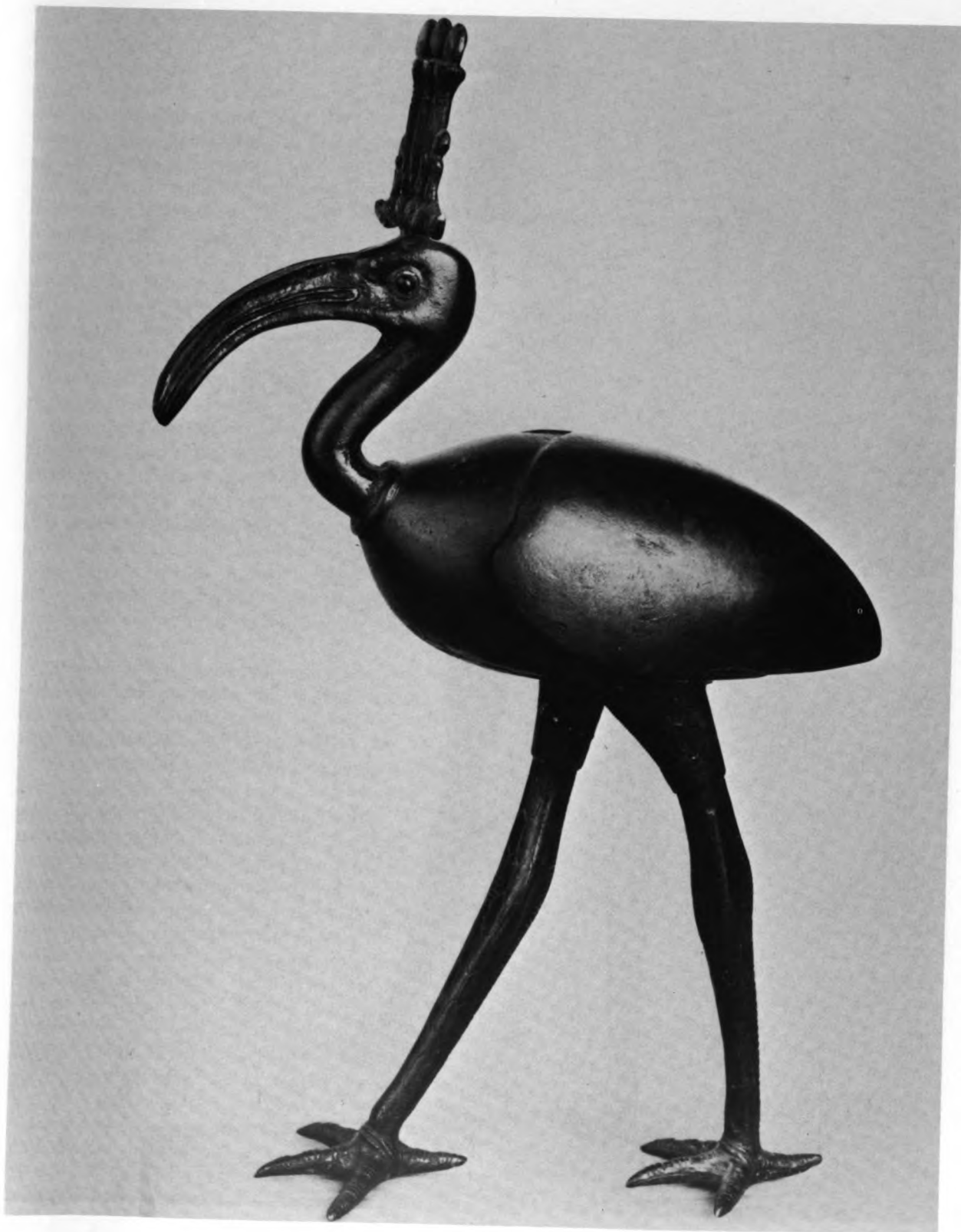
Die Ibisfigur ist eine elegante 28,5 cm hohe Bronze-statuetten, die 1977 als Donation ins Museum gelangt ist (MME 1977: 11)². Ihr Herkunftsort ist unbekannt. Die besondere Schönheit dieser Figur besteht in der Leichtigkeit ihrer Pose: ist doch der grosse Vogel auf hohen Beinen elegant und sicher dahinschreitend dargestellt. Weit geläufiger ist bei grösseren Wiedergaben sonst die hockende Stellung. Sein göttlicher Charakter ist durch eine Kompositkrone angedeutet: auf breitem Widderhörnerpaar erheben sich drei konische Schilfbündel, dekoriert mit sechs Sonnenscheiben an ihrem oberen und unteren Ende und flankiert von zwei sonnenbekrönten Uräen. Dieser komplizierte Kopfputz ist an der Vorderseite plastisch detailliert wiedergegeben, an der Rückseite dagegen nur summarisch ausgeführt. Der lange gebogene Schnabel ist in seinen Einzelheiten mit erhöhter Mittellinie und reliefierten Kanten plastisch ausgeformt. Die Augen sind mit schwarzer Glaspaste eingelegt. Am Körper sind nur die Schwanzfedern eingraviert. Die Flügel heben sich durch eine kräftige Relief Linie vom übrigen Federkleide ab, sind aber ebenso wie dieses ganz ohne Innenzeichnung. Die Haut der langen Beine und der Zehen dagegen ist in ihrem Muster naturgetreu nachgeahmt. Die Gelenke sind durch Querstriche angedeutet. Das rechte vorangestellte Bein war oben gebrochen und ist modern mit Hilfe eines eingegossenen Messingstabes repariert. Eine alte Repa-

ratur an derselben Stelle bestand aus einer mit Pech befestigten Eisenschraube. Ein Sockel, der möglicherweise Angaben über einen Stifter und den Bestimmungsort der Statuette hätte geben können, ist nicht mehr erhalten. Auch Zapfen unter den Füßen fehlten, wurden aber im Zusammenhang mit der letzten Reparatur angebracht, um eine Aufstellung zu ermöglichen.

Derartige Bronzefiguren sind besonders in der Spätzeit häufig, und eine Datierung um 600 v. Chr. ist nahe liegend. Aus dieser Zeit stammt z. B. ein noch grösserer schreitender Ibis aus Holz und Bronze³, der in seinen Proportionen aber weniger ausgewogen ist. Weitere schreitende Ibisfiguren, stets aus Holz und Bronze, sind etwa aus Tuna el Gebel bekannt und in ptolemäische Zeit datiert⁴.

Die andere Wiedergabe Thoths hat die Gestalt eines hockenden Mantelpavians. Die 19,5 cm hohe Figur ist seit 1974 von der Nobelstiftung im Medelhavsmuseet deponiert; sie stammt aus der Sammlung des amerikanischen Nobelpreisträgers Georg von Békésy⁵. Ein Herkunftsort in Ägypten ist nicht bekannt. Die Statuette besteht aus drei verschiedenen Materialien: der Körper aus Kalkstein mit hellgrüner, ins gelbliche spielender Glasur und braunen Details, Gesicht, Krone und Hände aus Silber, dazu kommen ausserdem noch rotbraune Fayenceeinlagen an der Rückseite. Trotz fehlender Teile bzw. inadäquater Restaurierungen vermittelt dieses Bild einen unmittelbaren Eindruck vom klugen verschmitzten Wesen des Affen und des in ihm repräsentierten Gottes. Der Pavian ist hockend dargestellt, die Hände – mit schlanken langen Fingern und Fingernägeln in Silber gearbeitet – kommen unter der sehr umfangreichen Mähne hervor und ruhen auf den Knien. Der Schwanz ist um das rechte Bein gelegt. Füsse und Phallus fehlen, sie waren möglicherweise auch in anderem Material als der Körper ausgeführt.







Das Fell ist am Kopf durch braune Striche, durch ein braunes schuppenartiges Muster auf der Mähne und durch braune Punkte auf dem Unterteil des Körpers angedeutet. Auf der Brust sind ein Halsband und die oberen Umrisslinien eines Pektore – ebenfalls in brauner Farbe – zu erkennen. Das Hinterteil war naturgetreu mit zwei rotbraunen Fayencestücken eingelegt, von denen das rechte herausgefallen ist. Die silberne Krone besteht aus einer Mondsichel mit der Mondscheibe darauf, in einem Stück gearbeitet und eingesetzt. Der eindrucksvollste Zug der ganzen Statuette ist das Gesicht, auch aus Silber angefertigt: Augenpartie, Nase, Maul und Wangen sind bewundernswert modelliert und von einer Vollendung des Ausdrucks, wie nur wenige Affenbilder sie erreichen.

Die modernen Gipsergänzungen an den Kalksteinteilen sind recht umfassend: ein Teil der linken Kopfhälfte und grosse Flächen in der Mähne oberhalb der linken Hand und an der Rückseite sowie ein kleineres Stück an der rechten Seite sind repariert. Beide Beine an der Vorderseite, das linke auch weit zur Seite hin, sind unanatomisch rekonstruiert. Auch der Schwanz ist grösstenteils ergänzt. In der Mitte der Unterseite der Figur befindet sich ein grosses, annähernd quadratisches Loch. Es ist ungewiss, ob es ursprünglich oder modern ist, um die Statuette auf einem Sockel zu befestigen.

Affenskulpturen aus verschiedenen Materialien zusammengesetzt gehören zu den Seltenheiten. Es gibt ein Beispiel aus Fayence, Silber und Gold im Louvre⁶, auch die Kombination Feldspat–Silberblech⁷ kommt vor. Geläufiger sind reine Bronze- oder Fayencefiguren, die jedoch oft kleiner und von minderer Qualität sind. Nahe Parallelen zu dem Stockholmer Affen sind nicht leicht zu finden. Wenn man das Gesicht allein betrachtet, kann man sich an einige Steinskulpturen der Zeit Ramses' II erinnern fühlen, etwa an die die Sonne anbetenden Paviane im kleinen Sonnenheiligtum von Abu Simbel und vielleicht noch mehr an die Paviane aus Luxor im Louvre⁸. Obwohl diese viel grösser sind – ihre Höhe beträgt 1,62 m – und das Material Granit ist, scheint die Behandlung der Gesichtszüge sehr ähnlich zu sein. Eine Datierung in diese Epoche soll deshalb für unseren Pavian hier vorgeschlagen werden.

Obwohl die Herkunft beider Statuetten – sowohl des Ibis als auch des Pavians – unbekannt ist, handelt es sich mit Sicherheit um Votivgaben an ein Thoth-Heiligtum. Thoths Kult war in ganz Ägypten verbreitet, einige der wichtigsten Kultstätten bzw. Nekropolen seiner heiligen Tiere befanden sich in Hermopolis parva, in

Sakkara und in Hermopolis magna sowie Tuna el Gebel. Eine Zuschreibung an irgend einen dieser Orte muss offenbleiben. Trotz zahlreicher moderner Untersuchungen zu Thoth ist auch die religiöse Bedeutung ikonographischer Besonderheiten wenig untersucht. Der Gott kann sich nicht nur als Ibis und Pavian offenbaren, sondern auch als Mann mit Ibis- bzw. Paviankopf, weiterhin als Mond in der Zusammensetzung Mondsichel-Mondscheibe. Dieses Mondemblem können seine tierischen oder seine menschlich-tierischen Manifestationen aber auch als Kopfputz auf dem Haupt tragen, wenn sie nicht mit anderen Kronen wie Atef und Kompositkrone geschmückt sind. So gibt es eine Vielfalt von Erscheinungen, die im einzelnen noch der Klärung harren. Davon abgesehen dass auch die alten Ägypter das Wesen ihrer Götter für geheim und ihre wahre Gestalt für verborgen hielten, ist es sehr schwierig festzustellen, welchen Unterschied sie zwischen Thoth als Ibis, Thoth als Pavian, Thoth als Mond usw. erlebten oder welche verschiedenen Seiten und Aspekte seines Wesens sie in diesen Manifestationen verkörpert sahen.

Ganz allgemein lässt sich Thoths Wirken beschreiben als das Schaffen von Harmonie mit Hilfe von Wissen. Dies schildern viele ägyptische Texte anschaulich mit konkreten Details. In einer Selbstoffenbarung in Totenbuchspruch 182⁹ sagt der Gott von sich:

Ich bin Thoth, der tüchtige Schreiber
mit reinen Händen, Herr des Doppelhornes,
der Böses (ablehnt) und *Maat* (Gerechtigkeit, Weltordnung) schreibt,
dessen Abscheu Unrecht ist, dessen Schreibbinse den
Allherrn schützt,
ein Herr der Gesetze, der spricht,
so dass seine Worte die Beiden Ufer (Ägypten) in
Ordnung bringen.

Ich bin der Herr der *Maat*,
der *Maat* bezeugt für die Götter,
der richtet, dass es (der *Maat*) entspricht,
der den Unterlegenen triumphieren lässt,
der den Elenden schützt und über sein Eigentum
wacht.

Ich habe die Finsternis beseitigt und die Wolken
vertrieben,
ich habe den süßen Hauch des Nordwindes dem
Osiris Unnefer gegeben,
als er hervorging aus dem Leib derjenigen, die ihn

gebar.

Ich lasse Re eingehen in Osiris
und Osiris eingehen in Re,
ich lasse ihn (Re) eintreten zur geheimen Gruft,
um das Herz des Herzensmüden (Osiris) zu beleben,
den behüteten *Ba*, der im Westen (Unterwelt) ist,
und seine Götterneunheit in seinem Gefolge.
Ich lasse die Verklärten hervorgehen (auf ihre) Stimme hin,
(ich lasse sie) Jubel und Jauchzen machen für den
Herzensmüden,
Unnefer, den Sohn der Nut.

Ich bin Thoth, dem Re Gunst erwiesen hat,
Herr der Kraft, der dem wohltut, der ihn geschaffen hat,
der Zauberreiche in der Barke der Millionen,
dessen Zaubermacht die schützt, die ihn geboren hat.
(Ich bin Thoth), Herr der Gesetze, der die Beiden
Länder beruhigt,
der tut, was Re in seinem Schrein gutheisst,
der Gewalttat beseitigt und Streit beendet,
der Vergehen richtet unter dem Volk.
Ich bin Thoth, der Osiris triumphieren lässt über
seine Feinde.

Ich bin Thoth, der Wissende,
der das Morgen verkündet und die Zukunft ausspät,
ohne sich irren zu können,
der Himmel, Erde und Unterwelt leitet
und die Himmelsbewohner leben lässt.
Ich gebe Atem dem, der im Geheimen ist,
durch die Zaubersprüche, die in meinem Munde
sind,
damit Osiris über seine Feinde triumphiert.

Noch ein Beispiel sei aus der Menge der antiken Zeugnisse angeführt. Auf einer Statue des späteren Königs Haremhab, die ihn als Schreiber darstellt, wird Thothes Wesen und Wirken folgendermassen geschildert¹⁰:

Thoth anbeten, den Sohn des Re,
den Mond, schön an Aufgängen,
den Herrn der Erscheinungen, der die Götter erleuchtet,
seitens des Fürsten und Grafen (2 Verse Titulatur)
Haremhab, gerechtfertigt, er sagt:

Gegrüßet seiest du, Mond-Thoth,

Stier in Hermopolis, der in *Hesret* wohnt!

Der den Göttern eine Stätte einräumt,
der die Geheimnisse kennt, der ihren Ausspruch festsetzt;
der den einen Bericht vom anderen unterscheidet,
der trennt, was jedem Kopf zukommt.

Umsichtigen Blicks in der Barke der Millionen,
der Eilbote des Himmelsvolks;
der einen Mann erkennt an seiner Aussage,
der eine Tat aufstehen läßt gegen (ihren) Täter.

Der Re besänftigt, der dem Einherrn Meldung erstattet,
du bewirkst, daß er alles Geschehende kennt;
die Erde wird hell, er ruft im Himmel,
er hat den Bericht von gestern nicht vergessen.

Heilmittel der Nachtbarke, der die Tagesbarke beruhigt,
mit frei schaltenden Armen am Bug der Barke;
mit freiem Blick, wenn er das Tau(?) genommen hat.

Die Tagesbarke freut sich in Freuden,
die Nachtbarke ist im Fest.
Der den Himmel quert, den Rebellen fällt und das westliche Lichtland verhüllt.

Die Neunheit in der Nachtbarke stimmt Loblieder an auf Thot,
sie sagen zu ihm: „Lob, Lob,
du Gelobter des Re!“

Er gibt den Göttern Preisungen, und sie wiederholen, was dein *Ka* liebt,
du öffnest der Barke den Weg zum Ziel.

Du tust jenem Rebellen etwas an,
du schneidest seinen Kopf ab, du zerbrichst seinen *Ba*,
du schleppst seinen Leichnam zur Flamme,
du bist der Gott, der sein Gemetzel veranstaltet.

Man tut nichts ohne dein Wissen, denn (du bist) der Große,
Sohn einer Großen, der aus ihrem Leibe hervorkam.
Schützer des Harachte,
der wissend eintritt in Heliopolis,
der den Göttern eine Stätte bereitet,
der die Geheimnisse kennt und ihre Worte deutet.







Laßt uns ein Loblied anstimmen auf Thoth,
das genaue Zünglein in der Mitte der Waage,
der an der Lüge vorbeigeht und den aufnimmt, der
sich nicht auf Verbrechen stützt;

Wesir, der die Worte beurteilt,
der die Streitenden in Frieden besänftigt.

Schreiber der Matte, der die Buchrolle festsetzt,
der den Betrüger abweist und den Demütigen auf-
nimmt.

Starkarmiger, der kundig ist inmitten der Neunheit,
der alles Vergessene hervorhebt, mit kundigem Blick
für den, der sich verirrt hat.

Der an Augenblick und Frist erinnert,
der die Stunde der Nacht verkündet,
seine Worte bleiben in Ewigkeit.

Der in die Unterwelt eintritt und den kennt, der in
ihr ist,
der sie mustert entsprechend der Liste.

¹ Für Literaturhinweise cf. Lexikon der Ägyptologie s.v. Affe; Pavian; Ibis; Mond; Götter, Tier-; Baklija; Hermopolis magna; der Band mit dem Stichwort Thoth ist noch nicht im Druck erschienen.

² Cf. B. George in: Medelhavsmuseet, En introduktion, Stockholm 1982, 78 f.

³ Geschenk des Nils, Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz, Basel 1978, Nr. 326.

⁴ Zum Beispiel: M.-L. Buhl, A Hundred Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East, Kopenhagen 1974, Nr. 49; auch S. Gabra, Fouilles de l'Université "Fouad el Awal" à Touna el Gebel (Hermopolis ouest), ASAE 39, 1939, 483 ff.

⁵ Cf. B. George in: The Georg von Békésy Collection, ed. J.

Wirgin, Malmö 1974, 42 f.

⁶ Le Louvre présente au Muséum de Lyon les Animaux dans l'Égypte ancienne, Lyon 1978, Nr. 92 und Umschlagbild.

⁷ Ars antiqua, Auktion III am 29. April 1961 in Luzern, Nr. 17.

⁸ Abu Simbel: Ramsès le Grand, Paris 1976, 151 ff. Louvre: Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Le Musée du Louvre I, Paris 1936, Pl. 92-93.

⁹ Nach E. Hornung, Das Totenbuch der Ägypter, Zürich-München 1979, 390 f.

¹⁰ Nach J. Assman, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, Zürich-München 1975, 463 ff.

A Corinthian Bronze Helmet

Pontus Hellström

In 1982, the major part of the collections of Greek and Roman antiquities in the National Museum of Fine Arts was transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet as a permanent loan. Among these objects was a Greek bronze helmet with no inventory number. Since no bronze helmet was listed in either of the two inventories of antiquities in the museum (the first of sculpture and the second of other ancient objects), a new inventory number was given to the helmet, viz. NM Ant. 2350. Before the helmet was put on display, it was restored at the Technical Institute at the Central Board of National Antiquities, where some of the corrosion was cleaned off (by Mrs. Kristi Rasmussen-Eklund). Metal samples were analysed (by Mr. Mille Törnblom) and the process of manufacture was studied (by Mr. Eric Norgren). The relevant parts of their reports are quoted below.¹

The helmet is of the standard Corinthian type before the later part of the sixth century B.C. with a smoothly curved bell-shape and a long, tongue-shaped nose-guard. The helmet is fragmentary. Most of the back part, including the entire neck-guard, is missing. In the centre of the skull-piece is an oblong hole, 8 cm long and 3 cm wide in the middle, possibly made by a sword blow. The hole runs obliquely backwards towards the left and continues in a fissure ending at the break at the back. The fissure had been strengthened with a thick layer of green-patinated glue on a previous occasion of restoration. Also in the centre of the skull-piece, just behind the hole, is a small indentation. The height is 20.4 cm (the measurement being taken at right angles to the lower edge of the cheek-piece), the maximum width 18.6 cm (at the eye level) and the preserved length 29 cm (measured from the tip of the nose-guard, along a line parallel to the lower edge of the cheek-piece). On the right-hand side, the lower edge of the cheek-piece is preserved back to the recess which usual-

ly occurs on such helmets and which begins 14.5 cm behind the vertical, front edge of the cheek-piece. The rim of the recess is preserved for only 1.0 cm before the break. The left-hand cheek-piece is broken 10 cm behind the vertical front edge. The nose-guard is 8.7 cm long, measured from the upper edge of the eye apertures. Its maximum width is 2.7 cm and its minimum width in the upper part is 2.3 cm. The distance between the outer angles of the eye apertures is 11.3 cm. The height of the front edge of the cheek-piece is 10.6 cm. If measured at right angles to the lower edge of the cheek-piece, the height (to the eye aperture) is 10.0 cm. The distance from the front angle at the bottom of the cheek-piece to the upper edge of the eye aperture is 14.3 cm. The distance from the inner angle of the eye aperture to the angle between eye aperture and front edge of the cheek-piece is 6.0 cm. The width of the slit between the cheek-pieces is at present ca. 2.7 cm. The front angle of the cheek-piece, between the vertical, front edge and the horizontal, bottom edge, is 68° on the right-hand cheek-piece and 66° on the left-hand one. All along the preserved rim – the rims of the cheek-pieces, the apertures for the eyes and the nose-guard – there are perforations for attaching an inner lining. There are 66 perforations preserved in all, with distances varying from 1.0 to 2.0 cm. The usual thickness of the metal is 0.1–0.2 cm. At the rim around the apertures for the eyes and in the lower part of the nose-guard, it is 0.3 cm thick. The upper part of the nose-guard is thickened to 0.7 cm and at the transition to the eye apertures the rim is 0.6 cm thick. The top of the skull-piece is partly only 0.05 cm thick.

The helmet has no decoration but, on the inside of the nose-guard, two incised letters were discovered during the preservation work, viz. a *delta* above an *iota*. The *delta* consists of an equilateral triangle with 1.3-cm-



1–2. The Stockholm helmet NM Ant. 2350.

long sides. The *iota* is 1.1 cm long and is engraved immediately below the *delta*. The distance between the two letters is less than 0.1 cm, but the interval is clearly visible in the microscope. The inscription was engraved with a triangular burin. The tool marks show clearly in the microscope, both as regards the beginnings and the endings of the engraved lines and the direction of engraving.

As noted above, the Stockholm helmet is not listed in the inventories of antiquities at the National Museum in Stockholm. In the work of Kukahn on Greek helmets, however, a Corinthian bronze helmet with no inventory number in the Stockholm National Museum is listed as follows:²

Nachtrag

3. *Stockholm, Nat. Mus. Aus der Sammlung König Karls XV.*

Unpubliziert.

Vordere Hälfte eines Helmes. 24 cm hoch.

Since the helmet was known to Kukahn as a Corinthian one, and was fragmentary in the same way as the

helmet under discussion, and since there is no indication of any other Greek bronze helmet in the collections of the National Museum, it is reasonable to assume that the present helmet is identical with the one known to Kukahn. According to Kukahn, the helmet was once in the collections of King Carl XV of Sweden. Carl XV, who died in 1872, had large collections of art and armour. These collections were partly bequeathed to the National Museum in the King's will. Catalogues of the collections had already been published during the life-time of Carl XV, but in them no Greek bronze helmet is listed.³ In the published report, however, concerning the works of art, armour and other objects transferred to the National Museum in 1873 from the collections of Carl XV, there is an entry concerning a fragmentary, Greek, bronze helmet, but unfortunately it contains no details or illustrations.⁴ In conclusion, I find it most probable that the Greek helmet in the collection of Carl XV is the same one as NM Ant. 2350. It has not been possible to trace the helmet further back. Most of the objects in the collections of Carl XV were purchased from art dealers in central Europe and no documents concerning those purchases seem to be in existence.



3. NM Ant. 2350.



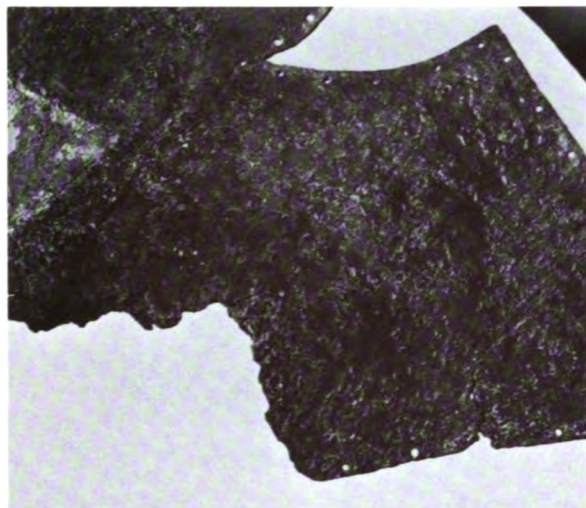
4. Inside of helmet with nose-guard.

Manufacturing technique

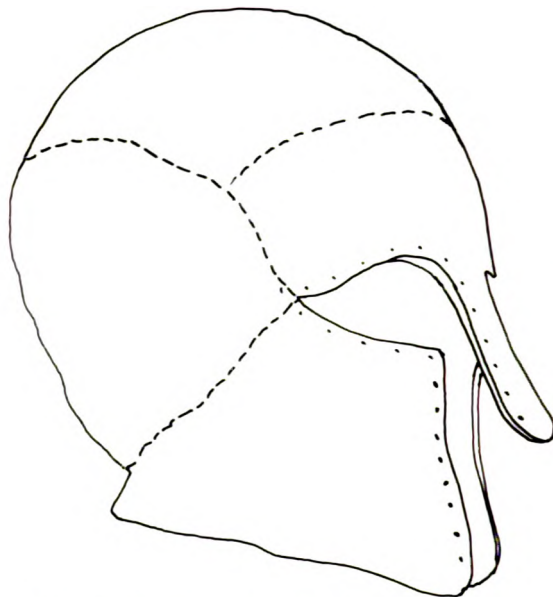
In searching for evidence concerning the manufacturing technique,⁵ Mr Eric Norgren discovered a soldered seam between the left-hand cheek-piece and the side-piece, running from the angle of the eye aperture obliquely down towards the side recess, following a somewhat meandering line. The meandering appearance of a soldered seam between two originally straight-edged plates is quite normal, being caused by the hammering of the seam and the subsequent raising and planishing of the entire helmet.⁶ He also found several other soldered seams, which are very hard to discover by the untrained eye, because they were hammered with much more precision. According to these observations, the helmet was composed of at least seven different plates – two cheek-pieces, two side-pieces, one neck-guard, one front skull-piece and one back skull-piece – which were raised by hammering and then soldered together. The soldered seams were then hammered and the whole helmet was raised and planished to achieve the desired shape. Finally, the surface was probably finely hammered. The composition of the Stockholm helmet and his long experience of metalworking as a silversmith



5. Inscription on inside of nose-guard.



6. Inside of left-hand cheek-piece. A soldered seam runs from the corner of the eye down towards the left.



7. Positions of soldered seams (drawing by E. Norgren).

made Mr Norgren doubtful about the general belief that the standard Corinthian helmet was made from one single sheet of metal.⁷ The type of alloy used in the Stockholm helmet would hardly stand the strain of such a raising, since there are limits to the ductility of the material.

Metal analysis

Two metal samples were analysed by Mr Mille Törnblom.⁸ One was drilled from the inside of the nose-guard. The other was a thin, metal fragment taken from the back edge of the skull-piece, where the neck-guard has been broken off. The samples were divided into six parts (see Tables 1 and 2). The skull-piece fragment was carefully cleaned by mechanical means. The parts were then dissolved in *aqua regia* (1:3) and analysed with a Perkin-Elmer Atomic Absorption Spectrophotometer, model 460.

Tables 1 and 2 show that the trace elements are all of the same magnitude. However, as regards the proportion of tin, which is the only actual alloying material, there is a considerable variation between the two samples. The sample from the nose-guard gives unquestionable information about the metal composition in this

part of the helmet, since the thickness of the metal excludes contamination by corrosion. This shows a bronze with a tin content of ca. 13 %, which gives good physical properties and a material rather easy to cold-work but impossible to hot-work. The other sample, however, consists of metal that had been exposed to corrosion and that was rather thin (ca 1 mm). Even if such a sample has been completely cleaned, the corrosion may have changed the copper/tin ratio in the metal. A certain concentration of tin due to the leaching out of the copper content is in fact conceivable in connexion with the process of corrosion but hardly so much as in this case, where the content is 22 %, since even tin is subject to corrosion. There are two other alternative explanations of the difference in tin content. The two samples may represent two different plates with different metal compositions. This explanation is, however, not satisfactory, since bronze with so high a tin content as 22 % is most unsuitable for the use to which it has been put. Such a metal is very brittle and is furthermore impossible to cold-work, which would have made forging extremely difficult, if not impossible, by ancient methods. The other alternative explanation of the high tin content is that the sample has been taken from a soldered seam. A study of the structure of the helmet makes it conceivable that the sample has actually been taken from such a seam, viz. the one

Table 1. Sample from the back of the skull-piece, divided into four parts.

| Sample | Cu | Sn | Pb | Zn | Ag | Ni | Total |
|--------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| 1 | 75.79 | 22.53 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.46 | 98.94 |
| 2 | 79.22 | 23.55 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.45 | 103.36 |
| 3 | 74.43 | 22.86 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.38 | 97.82 |
| 4 | 76.00 | 22.80 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.11 | 0.35 | 99.36 |
| Mean | 76.36 | 22.94 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.41 | 99.80 |

between the back skull-piece and the neck-guard. This would explain the tin content, since an increase in tin content reduces the melting-point (13 %: 980°C; 22 %: 840°C) which is necessary for successful soldering. It would also explain the position of the break at the back of the skull-piece. The soldered seams with their increased tin content, which makes the bronze brittle, must have been the weak parts of the helmet. When exposed to great strain by blows or pressure, they must have had a tendency to crack along these seams.

Chronology

The chronology for Greek helmets is mainly based on the typology of shape, on the stylistic dating of incised decoration on helmets and on comparisons with representations of helmets in painted pottery, terracotta, bronze statuettes and stone sculpture.⁹ The find circumstances of the helmets themselves have rarely been of any help in dating them.¹⁰ The majority of all helmets found in excavations or with known proveniences have been dedicated as votive gifts at sanctuaries. Most of them come from Olympia.

The standard Greek helmet from ca. 700 B.C. was the Corinthian type helmet, probably invented in Corinth.¹¹ Soon this type spread to workshops not only all over Greece but also abroad.¹² Criteria for determining the place of manufacture are, however, still largely lacking.

Typologically, the Corinthian helmets may be divided into two groups, an early one and a late one. The early type has a smoothly curved bell-shape without any offset between the different parts. The earliest specimen of this type are dated around 700 B.C.¹³ and the latest to 540–530 B.C.¹⁴ The Stockholm helmet belongs to this type. The later type is distinguished by a promi-

Table 2. Drilled sample from back of nose-guard, divided into two parts.

| Sample | Cu | Sn | Pb | Zn | Ag | Ni | As | Co | Mn | Fe | Bi | Total |
|--------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 85.33 | 12.98 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.51 | 0.12 | <0.01 | <0.01 | 0.19 | 0.01 | 99.26 |
| 2 | 84.25 | 14.33 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.52 | 0.13 | <0.01 | <0.01 | 0.18 | 0.01 | 99.55 |
| Mean | 84.79 | 13.66 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.52 | 0.13 | <0.01 | <0.01 | 0.19 | 0.01 | 99.45 |

nent, plastic ridge that sets off the skull-piece from the rest of the helmet. This type was created ca. 550 B.C.¹⁵ From 530 onwards, it was the only existing type. Although the Corinthian helmet of this type lived on in painting and sculpture during the Classical period, no actual helmet has yet been found that can be dated to the fifth century.¹⁶

As regards the typology of the bell-shaped Corinthian helmets, it is evident that there was a continuous evolution in the sixth century towards longer and lower helmets. At the same time, there is a clear tendency to elongate the cheek-pieces forwards and downwards.¹⁷ The angle between the vertical, front edge and the horizontal, bottom edge of the cheek-piece grows more and more acute. The angle of the cheek-pieces of the Stockholm helmet is 66–68°. After the middle of the sixth century, the front edge of the cheek-pieces has often a slightly concave profile, which further emphasizes the acute-angled appearance of the later, bell-shaped, Corinthian helmets.

The overall design and the proportions of the Stockholm helmet make it quite clear that it should be dated before the last phase of the bell-shaped Corinthian helmets, a stage which is exemplified by the Olympia helmet B 4411¹⁸ and the Berlin helmet Kukahn No. 134.¹⁹ These should both be dated to the 530's. A helmet from Nea Syllata,²⁰ near Thessaloniki, and the Olympia helmet B 6081²¹ are both typologically very close to the Stockholm helmet but the cheek-pieces of those helmets are more acute-angled and the front edge of their cheek-pieces is slightly concave. The Nea Syllata helmet is dated by Mrs. Despini to 550–540 B.C.²² and the Olympia helmet B 6081 is dated by Kunze to ca. 550.²³ Accepting the dates suggested by Despini and Kunze, which seem reasonable within the series of unfortunately not very securely dated Corinthian helmets, I would like to date the Stockholm helmet just before the middle of the sixth century or ca. 560 B.C.

The inscription

On the back of the nose-guard two letters are engraved, a *delta* above an *iota*. This inscription can be interpreted in several ways. It may be an abbreviation of the name of the owner or of the craftsman, it may be a weight or a price inscription, or it may be a votive inscription. It may, of course, also be a symbol in the shape of an arrow or a tree, but, if so, it would have almost the same function as if it were the owner's or maker's signature. It is therefore not necessary to discuss this alternative separately.

If it is an owner's or a maker's signature, it is an abbreviation of a name like Diodoros, Diodotos or Diogeiton. However, there are very few Archaic or Classical helmets with owner's (or maker's) names on them. The Myros helmet is one.²⁴ A pair of greaves has been found in Thrace with the craftsman's name in Doric Greek on them.²⁵ Against the assumption that the inscription is a craftsman's signature, it could also be argued that it would be rather unexpected to find the only known helmsmith's signature on a plain, undecorated helmet of standard design. I believe, however, that what definitely makes it impossible to interpret the inscription in this way is that the helmet had an inner lining, kept in place by studs in the now empty perforations all along the rim. This lining covered the back of the nose-guard as well, hiding the inscription (if it was there then) and making it useless both for an owner's and, in fact, for a maker's signature.

The two letters in the inscription, ΔΙ, can also be read as the number 11, *delta* being the sign for 10 and *iota* the sign for 1.²⁶ If read in this way, the inscription would give either the weight or the value of the helmet. When such figures occur on gold vessels, such as the amphora-rhyton and the phiale of the Panagyrishte treasure,²⁷ weight and value are probably more or less synonymous concepts and one does not have to find out whether the figure for weight means also the value. Probably, those figures had primarily a purely practical meaning. By giving the only objective information there is, that is, the weight, the inscription made it possible to check whether any gold had disappeared. At the same time, the inscription made it unnecessary for the owner to re-weigh the gold on the occasion of the annual estimate of the resources of the treasury. This would have simplified the drawing-up of annual inventories. With a bronze helmet, weight and value are decidedly different things. Inscriptional information of this kind cannot have fulfilled the same purpose as in

the case of gold vessels. Anyhow, information concerning weight may have been useful to a buyer who probably had to pay by weight, who wanted a helmet that could stand a blow of a sword but who did not want to carry around more weight on his head than necessary. At the same time, a craftsman may have found it useful to mark his helmets with the price, which, of course, stood in some relation to the weight of the metal. It is strange, however, that inscriptions of such a kind have not been found on arms and armour before. It is also strange that such an inscription should be so neatly and deeply engraved, in a careful, stoichedon design with the *iota* centred below the *delta*. On the Panagyrishte vessels, the weight inscriptions are more like graffiti in their character, being rather hastily incised. Besides, if it is a weight figure, it should mean 11 drachmae or 11 staters. The helmet now weighs about 800 g in its fragmentary state. Its original weight may have been around 1100 g. This means something like 100 g per unit, which is, of course, far too much for a drachme. It is, however, also too much for any stater. In Athens, for instance, with a drachme of 4.37 g and a tetradrachm stater of 17.48 g, the weight is far less than our unit of ca. 100 g. The inscription can alternatively be seen as an indication of value. A value of 11 drachmae for a helmet seems, however, somewhat exaggerated for the mid-sixth century. With a ratio of 1:120 between silver and copper,²⁸ the metal of the helmet would be worth close to 2 drachmae. Eleven drachmae for the finished helmet, with no inner lining, is not in a reasonable relation to the value of the metal.

It then remains to consider whether the inscription can be interpreted as the dative case of 'Zeus', and is therefore a votive inscription. The same formula, the word 'Di', *to Zeus*, standing alone and spelt in the same way with one *iota*, not two, as it was normally written in the Classical period, occurs on a bronze shield from Olympia.²⁹ Spelt with two *iotas*, the word occurs, standing alone, on a late Corinthian helmet from Olympia.³⁰ Otherwise, it is more common for dedicatory inscriptions in Olympia to contain the name of the dedicator as well and for the name of the god to be given in the genitive case.³¹

It is rather unexpected to find a dedicatory inscription in a hidden position such as the back of a nose-guard, and this may seem to argue against such an interpretation. I think, however, that, in a large *tro-paion* with many helmets and other arms and armour, some helmets may have happened to be mounted in such a position that the back of the nose-guard would

be visible and would therefore be a suitable place for a votive inscription.³²

The majority of Greek helmets have been found in Olympia, where not only the German excavations have yielded extremely rich finds. The valley of the Alfeios has also been of great importance to the antiquities market in past days.³³ The helmet carries probably a dedication to Zeus. If this interpretation of the inscription is correct, the helmet must have been dedicated in a sanctuary to Zeus. Since bronze helmets from other sanctuaries of Zeus are exceedingly rare,³⁴ this is also a clear indication that the Stockholm helmet is a votive helmet from Olympia.

For the moment, nothing can be said about the place of manufacture for the Stockholm helmet. The letter forms of the inscription give, however, some indications about the origin of the engraver, who presumably belonged to the dedicating state. The un-tilted *delta* and the straight *iota* were normal for sixth-century Attica,³⁵ the Aegean islands and Asia Minor. Sites as Eretria, Aigina, Sikyon and Tiryns also used the same letter forms. Origins that seem to be excluded are Crete and Corinth, where a different kind of *iota* was used. Laconia, Central Greece and the Western colonies normally used a different *delta*, which makes these areas less probable. Generally speaking, this indicates that, so far as the Greek mainland is concerned, the western parts are less likely than the eastern ones.

form, apparently ancient corrosion, mainly consisting of basic cupric carbonates, covered the entire helmet, inside and out. The soldered seam therefore cannot be a 19th-century repair following the unsuccessful adjustment of a "killed" helmet, made useless by the bending back of the cheek-pieces. Besides, the seam has not the appearance of a repair, according to Mr Norgren. His observations of several other soldered seams are also supported by the results of the metal analysis (cf. Table 1 and the comments below on the analysis results).

⁷ Kukahn, *Der griech. Helm*, p. 40; A. M. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.*, Edinburgh 1964, pp. 28 and 35; *idem*, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (1st ed., 1967), repr. London 1982, p. 51.

The few exceptions to the rule that Corinthian helmets are made from a single sheet of bronze are considered to be the following, which all consist of two halves, divided horizontally or vertically and joined by rivets, not by soldering:

Horizontally divided

Kukahn, Nos. 11–12; according to Kukahn (pp. 29–30) they form a special group produced in Italy. They are divided horizontally by a line running between the back corners of the eye-apertures.

Vertically divided

Kukahn, Nos. 13 and 106; according to Kukahn (pp. 30 and 40) this is also a variant produced in Italy. These helmets are divided vertically from forehead to neck. According to Snodgrass (*Early Greek Armour*, p. 24), No. 13 is not Italian.

Olympia B 1679; according to Kunze it is certainly not from northern or central Italy (*VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1958 [abbreviated: *Ol. Ber. VI*], p. 132, Figs. 100–101).

The technique of joining two vertically divided halves occurs also in so-called Illyrian and Cretan helmets (Kunze, *Ol. Ber. VI*, 1958, p. 132; Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour*, 1964, pp. 18–19, 24 and 28; *idem*, *Arms and Armour*, p. 75).

⁸ This section is based on Mr Mille Törnblom's report (see note 1).

⁹ E. Kukahn, *Der griech. Helm, passim*; S. Benton, 'The Dating of Helmets and Corselets in Early Greece', *BSA* 40, 1939–40, pp. 78–82; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, p. 49.

¹⁰ Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 48–49; Kunze (*Ol. Ber. VII*, pp. 116–128) is getting some useful information from the find circumstances in Olympia.

¹¹ *Ol. Ber. VII*, 1961, p. 56.

¹² For example, Italy (Kukahn, Nos. 11–12: see note 7) and Macedonia (A. Despini, 'Κορινθιακό κράνος από τη Χαλκιδική', *AAA* 14, 1982, p. 248).

¹³ Kunze, *Ol. Ber. VII*, 1961, p. 56.

¹⁴ E. Kunze, 'Waffenweihungen', *Ol. Ber. VIII*, 1967, p. 94.

¹⁵ Kukahn, p. 45; S. Benton, *BSA* 40, p. 79, dates the beginning in Rhodes and Samos much earlier. For the evolution of the type, see Kunze, *Ol. Ber. V*, 1956, pp. 69–74, and in

¹ The reports are at present being published (in Swedish) in *Konsveringstekniska Studier* No. 2 (*RAÄ & SHMM Rapport T2*), Stockholm 1984 (published by Riksantikvarieämbetet, Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm). I would like to express my thanks for valuable discussions to Mrs Rasmussen-Eklund, Mr Törnblom and Mr Norgren.

² E. Kukahn, *Der griechische Helm*, Marburg-Lahn 1936, p. 96.

³ *Hans Majestät Konung Carl XV:s Vapensamling*. Stockholm 1861; Jacob Falke, *Die Kunstsammlungen Seiner Majestät des Königs Karl's XV. von Schweden und Norwegen zu Stockholm und Ulriksdal*. Wien 1871.

⁴ *Underdånig Berättelse angående Emottagande för Statens Räkning af de utaf hans Majestät Konung Carl XV till Staten testamenterade Samlingar af konstverk, Vapen och Andra Föremål, afgifven af t.f. Intendenten vid Nationalmuseum den 14 Augusti 1873*, Stockholm 1873, p. 48, No. 223: "Bronshjelm (Grekisk); fragment".

⁵ This section is based on the report written by Mr Eric Norgren (see note 1) and on oral communication.

⁶ According to Mrs Rasmussen-Eklund, a thick layer of uni-

Festschrift für Carl Weickert, 1955, pp. 7–21.

A helmet of this type was found in the siege-mound of the Persians at Paphos, dated 498 B.C. (E. Erdmann, *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern*, Heft 1, *Nordosttor und persische Belagerungsrampe in Alt-Paphos. I. Waffen und Kleinfunde*, Konstanz 1977, p. 25), a date which is far too late for the helmet.

¹⁶ E. Kunze, 'Eine Waffenweihe der Athener in Olympia', *Festschrift für Carl Weickert*, Berlin 1955, pp. 15–17, and Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, rev. ed. 1982, p. 94 note the abrupt disappearance of the Corinthian helmet. In sculpture, for example, the bust of Perikles by Kresilas (G. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, rev. ed. 1950, Fig. 624) shows him wearing a Corinthian helmet. For other Classical examples, see Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* V, 1956, p. 74, note 17.

¹⁷ Compare, for instance, the following series:

Ca. 600 B.C.: the Myros helmet (*Ol. Ber.* VII, p. 82, No. 31, Pls. 42–43).

600–575 B.C.: a helmet in the Kanellopoulos collection, of the Myros group (Amandry, *BCH* 95, 1971, 587–589).

Ca. 550 B.C.: the Nea Syllata helmet (Despini, *AAA* 14, 1982, 246–250).

550–540 B.C.: the Olympia helmet B 6081 (*Ol. Ber.* VIII, 1967, p. 87).

540–530 B.C.: the Olympia helmet B 4411 (*Ol. Ber.* VIII, 1967, 91–94, Pl. 34).

Ca. 530 B.C.: the Berlin helmet Kukahn No. 134 (Kukahn, Pl. 3:5–6).

¹⁸ Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII, 1967, pp. 91–94, Pl. 34.

¹⁹ Kukahn, p. 88 and Pl. 3:5–6; the date is implicated by A. Despini's placing it at the very end of this series (*AAA* 14, 1982, p. 250).

²⁰ Despini, *AAA* 14, 1982, pp. 246–250.

²¹ Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII, 1967, p. 87.

²² Despini, *AAA* 14, 1982, p. 250.

²³ Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VIII, p. 87, note 7.

²⁴ *Ol. Ber.* VII, p. 113.

²⁵ On the greaves from Assenovgrad, see I. Venedikov & T. Gerassimov, *Thracian Art Treasures*, 2nd ed., Sofia 1979, p. 96 (no illustration). On maker's and owner's names on silver bowls from Thrace, southern Russia and Persia, see op. cit., pp. 78–79.

²⁶ M. N. Tod, 'The Greek Numerical Notation', *BSA* 18, 1911–12, pp. 98–132.

²⁷ I Venedikov, 'Sur la date et l'origine du trésor de Panaguriste', *Acta Antiqua ac. sc. Hungariae* 6, 1958, 67–86; E. Simon, 'Der Goldschatz von Panagjuriste', *Antike Kunst* 3, 1960, pp. 3–26; H. A. Cahn, 'Die Gewichte der Goldgefäße', *Antike Kunst* 3, 1960, pp. 26–29.

²⁸ *RE* Suppl. III, cols. 602–603 [Lehmann-Haupt, 'Gewichte'].

²⁹ B 976: *Ol. Ber.* III, p. 80; *Ol. Ber.* VIII, pp. 89–90. The spelling of ΔΙ with only one *iota* occurs, for example, on the Miltiades helmet (*Ol. Ber.* V, pp. 69–74).

³⁰ B 6081: *Ol. Ber.* VIII, 1967, p. 90 and Pl. 33.

³¹ For votive inscriptions at Olympia, see *Ol. Ber.* II, pp. 68 ff., III, pp. 76 ff., V, pp. 35–40 and 69–74, and VIII, pp. 83–110.

³² The very carefully engraved letters also indicate that they were intended to be seen, which would indicate that they were engraved when the inner lining had been taken out, not just before it was going to be put into the helmet.

³³ Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VI, p. 130, and VII, p. 58, note 7.

³⁴ Kunze, *Ol. Ber.* VII, 1961, pp. 113–114.

³⁵ L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, pp. 24 (*delta*), 29–30 (*iota*), 66 (Attica), 79 (Euboia), 89 (Boiotia), 99 (Phokis), 104 (Lokris), 109 (Aigina), 115 (Corinth), 138 (Sikyon), 144 (Tiryns), 151 (Argos), 180 (Epidauros), 183 (Lakonia), 235, 262 and 279 (western colonies), 289 (Aegean islands), 309 (Crete), 325 (East Greek, Ionic) and 345 (Doric Hexapolis).

Rhodian Stamped Amphora Handles in Two Swedish Collections

Berit Wells

Wine jar handles convey information of great interest and importance for our knowledge of ancient commerce. Shape and fabric may reveal place of origin but, as fabricants often stamped their containers, they give us a handy instrument to trace and, repeatedly, to date the products. They not only advertised their own names and those of the dating magistrates as a guarantee of the correct measure of the contents¹ but sometimes they added the place of origin through an ethnic and/or a trademark. The devices employed are many and varied but frequently refer to a specific fabricant. The Rhodian producers practically never gave their ethnic but recurrently supplied the emblem of the state and, from c. 240 B.C.,² started adding the month of endorsement.³ As tens of thousands of such stamps have been studied, it has been possible to date accurately many fabricants together with the accompanying magistrates.

There are eight stamped amphora handles from wine jars manufactured in Rhodes in the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet. The Rhodian handles early develop a pronounced profile, a bent knee where the upper and the lower parts meet. This is an infallible distinguishing mark. Further, the legends of the handles in question are legible to such a degree as to make most names identifiable. If their origin of manufacture and the persons involved in the wine production thus can be reasonably certain, the modern history of the eight handles is less transparent.

The eight stamped amphora handles were, according to a ledger in the National Museum in Stockholm, deposited there in 1886 by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, but their previous whereabouts seem a matter of controversy. According to Paul Åström the handles were in the part of the Hedenborg collection which ended up in the said Academy.⁴ As no document exists to verify this statement, Örjan Wi-

kander, in his study of the Medelhavsmuseet (MM) comparative collection, hesitates to accept the assertion.⁵ It is true that Rhodian wine amphoras travelled extensively, as did in fact Johan Hedenborg, but it is also true that Hedenborg lived on Rhodes for a substantial length of time. The handles in the MM are Rhodian and thus it would hardly be surprising if they had been purchased in Rhodes by Hedenborg. Åström's allegation cannot be verified but, if his is a guess, it is rather a qualified one.

From 1886 the history of the amphora handles is known. They were given inventory numbers in the National Museum series, NM 1162–1169. In the ledger there is a note that they were restored to their original institution in 1954 only once again to be deposited in another collection three years later, in 1957, this time in the Medelhavsmuseet. Here they are now recorded as MM Acc. 1088–1095.⁶

Two Rhodian handles in the collection of the Antikmuseet (The Museum of Classical Antiquities) of Lund University have been included in this study.⁷ They have the inventory numbers LA 47–48 and were thus early acquisitions of this museum possibly by Martin P. Nilsson himself whose purchases constantly added to the collection.⁸ The ledger of the Antikmuseet gives Lindos as the provenience of the two handles.

The ten amphora stamps presented below chronologically fall in essence within the 2nd century B.C. It is interesting to note that while, by that time, the number of Rhodian handles found in the Athenian Agora had dwindled to insignificant numbers relative to the Knidian, the relative share of Rhodian found on Delos increases in the 2nd century B.C. It thus seems as if the two largest wine producers, Rhodes and Knidos, at this time more firmly established their respective markets, with Knidos almost pushing Rhodes out of the Greek

mainland.⁹ Knidos had, however, always dominated that market as can for instance be seen at Argos¹⁰ and at Asine.¹¹

The stamps are presented in the standard alphabetical order of fabricants followed by eponyms within each period.

A. End of 3rd century B.C. (Period II)

1. MM Acc. 1095 (formerly NM 1169). No provenience.

Ἐπ' Ἰασιγράτεως
Θεομοφορίου

This stamp was identified with the help of the Agora files. The eponym Ἰασιγράτης occurs on many types in the Agora files but these do not include this particular die and none of them has been published. He can, however, be dated through another die from the Pergamon deposit of which there are some examples in the disturbed Agora Middle Stoa filling, *Délos XXVII*, pp. 290–291. The fact that only one stamp with the eponym was found in the Pergamon deposit led Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou to suggest he predated other eponyms represented there, *Délos XXVII*, p. 303 E 4. Therefore we may safely attribute him to the end of Period II or soon before 210 B.C. according to the chronology proposed by Grace, *Délos XXVII*, pp. 290–291 for the Pergamon deposit. It should also be pointed out that the beginning of this period is now set down as c. 240 B.C. according to Grace 1974, pp. 193–200.

Nilsson, pp. 433–434, no. 246 lists several examples with the eponym Ἰασιγράτης.

Note the elision of the ι of the preposition. On psilosis see Christoph Börker, 'Zur Datierung einiger Inschriften aus der rhodischen Peraia', *ZPE* 28, 1978, pp. 37–38.

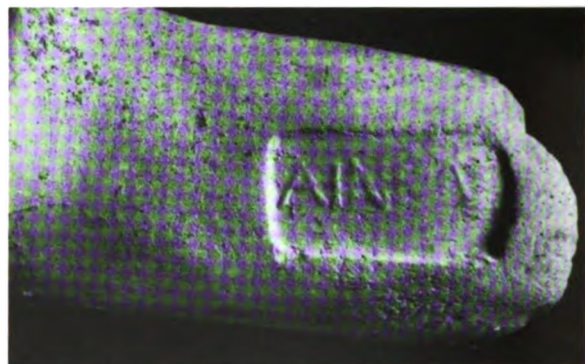


B. End of 3rd century–first quarter of 2nd century B.C. (Period III)

2. MM Acc. 1092 (formerly NM 1166). No provenience.

Αἰνέας

The fabricant Αἰνέας is common and there are several examples of his name in the nominative, Pridik 1926, p. 320. This convention seems to be fairly limited, Nilsson, pp. 62–63, possibly to a few fabricants and to early Rhodian eponyms, *Délos XXVII*, p. 293. The fabricant Αἰνέας varied his dies using attribute, Pridik 1917, p. 21, 453–454; attribute and month, Pridik 1917, p. 22, 455–457; or in the Pergamon deposit dies with month or attribute, *Pergamon VIII*, 2, p. 440, 822–826. It is also this deposit which dates the fabricant to Period III or c. 210–175 B.C. according to Grace, *Délos XXVII*, pp. 290–291.

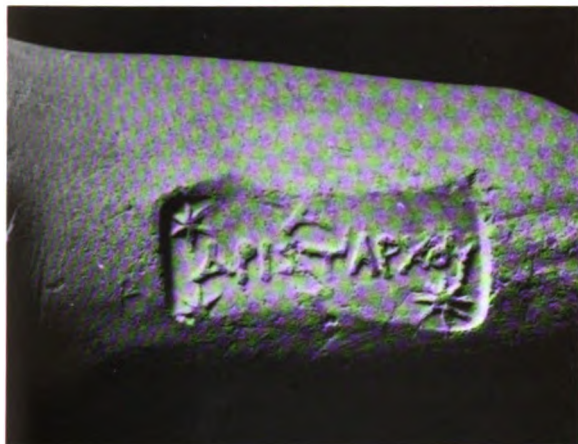


3. MM Acc. 1089 (formerly NM 1163). No provenience.

★ Α [★]
Ἀριστάρχου
★ Σ ★

Probably from the same die as Pridik 1917, p. 135,85 (Olbia 1905,1). This die can be recognized from the small crammed o. There are more stamps by the same fabricant Ἀριστάρχος in the Hermitage, Pridik 1917, p. 23, 507–510, who apparently was very productive. Further examples of this die have been identified, Pridik 1926, p. 321. Like our previous fabricant, Ἀριστάρχος chose to vary his dies, sometimes omitting α and σ on the same lines as the stars, Nilsson, p. 377,79 and Eugen Pridik, 'Amphorenstempel aus Athen', *Ath-Mitt* 21, 1896, p. 130,8; sometimes also discarding the stars, Dumont, p. 83,48.

The fabricant is represented by several examples in the Pergamon deposit, *Pergamon* VIII,2, p. 445, 875–877, where the last stamp (inv. 352) includes both stars and the letters α and σ the meaning of which remains obscure. An approximate date for the fabricant is given by the said deposit, *Délos* XXVII, pp. 290–291.

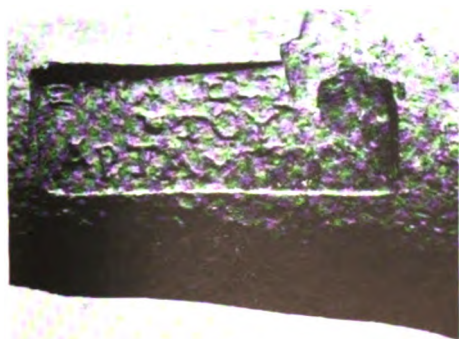


4. LA 48. From Lindos.

Ἐπὶ Ἀγέστ[ρά]
του
Ἀρταμτίου

The eponym Ἀγέστρατος occurs often, Pridik 1926, p. 307, and he is well represented in the Pergamon deposit, *Pergamon* VIII,2, p. 437, 797–801, which thus dates also this eponym to Period III. As the eponym is not among those found in the Agora Middle Stoa filling, he can be more closely dated to the very end of the period or IIIc, *Délos* XXVII, pp. 290–291 and 316–317 E 45.

I have found no published example of the eponym certainly connected with the month of Ἀρταμτίος, which, however, is an otherwise frequently recurring month, Nilsson, p. 127.

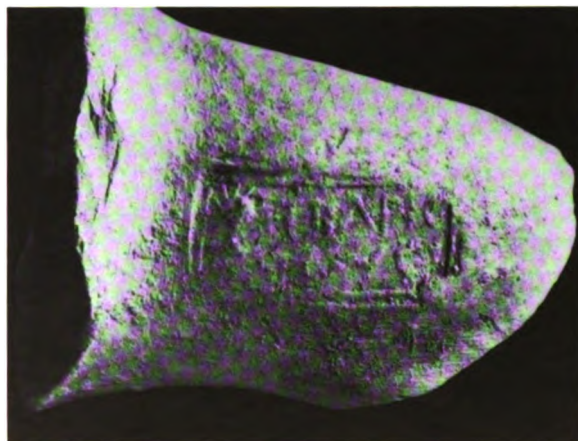


5. MM Acc. 1094 (formerly NM 1168). No provenience.

Helios Ἐπὶ Ἀγίσ
head τῶνος framed legend

Ἀγίστων is another recurring eponym, Pridik 1926, p. 311. Nilsson, pp. 394–395, 114–115 gives several examples but not exactly this die. However, Dumont, p. 86,70 and *Pergamon* VIII,2, p. 450,921 do seem to present the same die, with the latter thus dating the eponym to Period III. An Athenian stamp with the month added is interesting in view of the fact that the Rhodian handles found in the Agora mainly belong to the 3rd century B.C., *Délos* XXVII, p. 295 and *Amphoras*, text on the same page as figs. 41–43.

The device employed in this stamp merits a few comments. The Helios head together with the rose are the emblems of the city of Rhodes, *Amphoras*, figs. 23–25, appearing both on coins and on amphora stamps. Originally the authorities endorsing the stamps may have been the Macedonian garrison commanders left in the city by Alexander c. 332 B.C. but, even before 300 B.C., eponyms are sometimes accompanied by the title ἱερεὺς, a priest thus having assumed the function of endorsing authority. This priest is most likely to be identified with the eponymous priest of Halios, *Délos* XXVII, pp. 300–301.



C. Second quarter of 2nd century–146 B.C. (Period IV)

6. MM Acc. 1088 (formerly NM 1162). No provenience.

['Η]φαιστί
ώνος
caduceus

The fabricant 'Ηφαιστίων can be dated through his association with the eponym Πανσανίας belonging in period IV, Virginia R. Grace, 'Wine Jars', *CJ* 42, 1947, p. 450, fig. 8 and *Délos XXVII*, pp. 304–305 E 12. Already Pridik 1926, p. 325 listed many stamps with this fabricant, all accompanied by the caduceus as device.

This stamp along with the following one constitute a pair. See below.



7. MM Acc. 1090 (formerly NM 1164). No provenience.

Ἐπὶ Πυθογέ
νευς
Δευτέρου
Πανάμου

This stamp and the preceding one form a pair and they may even belong to the same amphora. Most amphoras had two stamps and in the case of the Rhodian ones matters are complicated in that each stamp generally gives one name only rendering it extremely difficult to identify pairs, *Délos XXVII*, p. 289. Fortunately Mrs. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou could supply me with the pertinent information from the Agora files.

That the fabricant 'Ηφαιστίων can be paired with the eponym Πυθογένης is demonstrated by a complete amphora from Cyprus referred to as no. 87 in the Supplement of Count Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *A de-*

*scriptive atlas of the Cesnola collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Boston 1885, III:2. The amphora in question was among those published by I. H. Hall, 'The Greek stamps on the handles of Rhodian amphorae found in Cyprus and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York', JAOS 11, 1885, pp. 389–396. However, Hall misread many of the names, among these the eponym of our stamp (his no. 5065 on p. 393). Most of his errors, including the stamp here dealt with were corrected by Nilsson, p. 117, although Nilsson had not seen the stamp. His reading has been verified by Grace who has actually studied the original, which is still in The Metropolitan Museum, New York, while most of the amphoras were sold off and are now in the Ringling Museum in Sarasota, Florida, Virginia R. Grace, 'Rhodian jars in Florida', *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 144–147.*

The eponym Πυθογένης occurs often, Pridik, 1926, p. 317, for instance Nilsson, pp. 475–476, 365; Marie-Louise Säflund, *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches. Vol. II. Part 2: Stamped amphora handles*, Stockholm 1980, p. 14, 11–12; and Pridik 1917, p. 17, 337–343. The last no. 343 probably gives the same month as our stamp, Πάναμος δεύτερος, which was an intercalary month in the Rhodian calendar and apparently was often forgotten, Nilsson, pp. 121–137.



D. 146–c. 80 B.C. (Periods V–VI)

8. LA 47. From Lindos.

Ἐπὶ Ἀρι[σ]
τοπόλιος
Πανάμ
ου

Probably from the same die as Nilsson, p. 393,111 no. 13. The eponym Ἀριστόπολις appears on Delos, where he is dated to the second half of the 2nd century B.C., or Period V, Virginia R. Grace, 'Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos', *BCH* 76, 1952, pp. 525, 528 and 537,24; for date see also *Délos* XXVII, p. 312 E 33.

At Lindos the month of Πάναμος is the most frequent one, Nilsson, p. 91.



9. MM Acc. 1093 (formerly NM 1167). No provenience.

Ἀ[γ]α[θ]οβού
thyrsos, possibly with ribbon
λου

The fabricant Ἀγαθόβουλος used several types including such with the eponym in the same stamp (cf. above no. 7), which seem to predate the shorter version, *Délos* XXVII, pp. 305–306 E 15. These begin shortly after the middle of the 2nd century B.C. which is why the fabricant must be placed in Period V–VI.

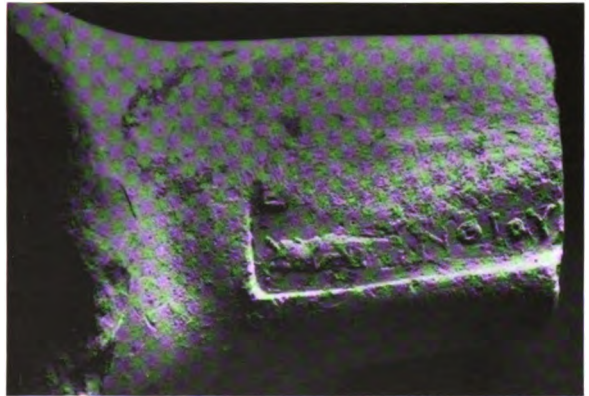
This type with thyrsos as device is not represented in the Agora files. The fabricant generally uses a cluster as in the above E 15.

E. Of uncertain date

10. MM Acc. 1091 (formerly NM 1165). No provenience.

Ἐπ[ι]
Συακινθίου

The name of the eponym is effaced. The σ in the second line may belong to the name of the eponym, but due to the peculiar character of the beginning of the line, Mrs. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou has suggested another possibility. Originally the die may have been meant to give the month of Σμίνθιος but may have been corrected to read Ὑακίνθιος. By mistake the σ then was not erased.



Indices

1. Rhodian names

Ἀγαθόβουλος fabr 9
Ἀγέστρατος ep 4
Αἰνέας fabr 2
Ἀρίσταρχος fabr 3
Ἀριστόπολις ep 8
Ἀρίστων ep 5
Ἡφαιστίων fabr 6; cf. 7
Ἰασικράτης ep 1
Πανσανίας ep cf. 6
Πυθογένης ep 7

2. Rhodian months

Ἀρταμίτιος 4
Θεσμοφόριος 1
Πάναμος 8
Πάναμος δεύτερος 7
Σμίνθιος cf. 10
Υακίνθιος 10

3. Devices

Caduceus 6
Helios head 5
Star 3
Thyrsoi, possibly with ribbon 9

4. Concordance between inventory and catalogue nos.

MM Acc. 1088 – 6
MM Acc. 1089 – 3
MM Acc. 1090 – 7
MM Acc. 1091 – 10
MM Acc. 1092 – 2
MM Acc. 1093 – 9
MM Acc. 1094 – 5
MM Acc. 1095 – 1
LA 47 – 8
LA 48 – 4

I want to express my gratitude to the staff of the Amphora Department of the Agora Excavations for assistance supplied. Especially I want to thank Mrs. Maria Savvatianou-Petropoulakou for identifying the eponym of MM Acc. 1095 and the device of MM Acc. 1093. Her general comments have been of great value.

Dr. Curt Wells checked my English.

Bibliographical abbreviations other than those suggested in *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 5–10. The list only includes works referred to more than once:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Amphoras</i> | Virginia R. Grace, <i>Amphoras and the ancient wine trade</i> , Excavations of the Athenian Agora. Picture book No. 6, rev. ed., Princeton 1979. |
| <i>Délos XXVII</i> | Virginia R. Grace and Maria Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, 'Les timbres amphoriques Grecs', <i>Délos XXVII</i> , 1970, pp. 277–382. |
| Dumont | M. Albert Dumont, <i>Inscriptions céramiques de Grèce</i> , Paris 1872. |
| Grace 1949 | Virginia R. Grace, 'Standard pottery containers of the ancient Greek world', <i>Hesperia</i> Suppl. 8, 1949, pp. 175–89. |
| Grace 1974 | Virginia R. Grace, 'Revisions in early Hellenistic chronology', <i>Ath Mitt</i> 89, 1974, 193–200. |
| Nilsson | Martin P. Nilsson, 'Timbres amphoriques de Lindos', <i>Exploration archéologique de Rhodes</i> . V. Copenhagen 1909. |
| <i>Pergamon VIII.2</i> | Carl Schuchardt, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> , Vol. II, Berlin 1895, pp. 423–499. |
| Pridik 1917 | Eugen Pridik, <i>Inventory-catalogue of the stamps on handles and necks of amphoras, and on bricks, of the Hermitage Collection</i> . Petrograd 1917 (in Russian). |
| Pridik 1926 | Eugen Pridik, 'Zu den rhodischen Amphorenstempeln', <i>Klio</i> 20, 1926, pp. 320–331. |
| Wells | Berit Wells, 'Stamped amphora handles from Asine', <i>OpAth</i> 14, 1982, 119–128. |

¹ Grace 1949, pp. 176, 178.

² This date is in accordance with the revised early Rhodian chronology suggested in Grace 1974, pp. 193–200. Cf. also *Délos XXVII*, pp. 289–301.

³ For the Rhodian months see Nilsson, pp. 121–137 to which Christoph Börker, 'Der rhodische Kalender', *ZPE* 31, 1978, pp. 193–218 has made some corrections.

⁴ Paul Åström, 'A Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle bottle and its contents', *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5, 1969, p. 16.

⁵ Örjan Wikander, 'The comparative collection. Early antique collecting in Sweden', *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 16, 1981, p. 55 n. 14.

⁶ For completeness' sake the respective NM nos. are given in parentheses in the catalogue entries.

⁷ The three remaining stamps, LA 415–417, in this collection come from Asine and have been previously published, Wells, pp. 121, 124–126.

⁸ Tullia Linders, 'The history of the collection', *CVA Lund I* (= Sweden 1), Stockholm 1980, p. 6.

⁹ *Délos XXVII*, p. 282.

¹⁰ Marie-Thérèse Lenger, 'Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Argos', *BCH* 79, 1955, p. 487 and *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 162.

¹¹ Wells, p. 120.

A South Italian Red-Figure Fish-Plate in the Medelhavsmuseet

Claude Björk

In 1936, the National Museum in Stockholm purchased, from a private estate, a collection of ancient pottery of excellent quality. Among the items was a fish-plate which for some reason did not attract much attention until 1982 when being transferred to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, where it is now exhibited.¹ Neither its provenance nor its date are known.²

The term "fish-plate" is commonly used for a round shallow plate,³ standing on a low foot. The interior is usually decorated with fish, sea-shells and other marine motifs arranged in a sort of frieze around a central depression.⁴ It is from these features that this type of vessel derives its name. Most of such plates have an overhanging rim, either strictly vertical or slightly curved, and sometimes so wide that it may completely obscure the foot. The rim is usually decorated with either a laurel-leaf or a dog-tooth pattern or a maeander all around.⁵ Some may have even a decorated border along the outer edge of the plate proper. The interior is never entirely flat but gently slopes towards a circular depression in the middle. This shallow cavity is of varying size, although rarely comprises more than 25 per cent of the whole diameter, and is often bordered by a narrow groove.⁶ The use of this depression has not yet been determined with certainty, but it is generally assumed that it could serve as either a sort of built-in sauce boat⁷ or a convenient place to gather the water which dripped from the boiled fish.⁸ These, however, are still conjectures.⁹ The diameter of these fish-plates varies between 14 and 40 cm, although the vast majority of those from South Italy seem to measure around 20 cm. Their height is rarely over 5 cm, and usually between 4 and 4.5 cm. The majority belong to the red-figure technique.

There is a significant difference between the decora-

tion of the fish-plates from the Greek mainland (Attica) and those from South Italy. On the former the finish and precision in the rendering of the fish by means of hatching and diluted glaze, as well as the precise details in brown-black, demonstrate a refined and highly skilled technique.¹⁰ On the latter, the work is more summarily executed. For the rendering of fins, spots on the scales and the mouths, as well as for the underlining of heads and bellies, white and even yellow paint is used extensively.

Another, very important, way in which plates from mainland Greece differ from the South Italian products is the position of the fish around the depression. On the former, they are depicted with their backs turned towards the central depression, whereas, on the latter it is exactly the contrary.¹¹

The Stockholm fish-plate (NM 2111) is on the whole in relatively good condition. A small chip on the surface, near the outer edge, was mended during an earlier restoration, blurring part of the nose of the largest fish and a tiny part of the tail of the smallest one. A fracture on the edge of the plate, following part of the back of the smallest fish, is very well repaired. The bottom of the central depression and the main section of the foot, forming a single unit, appear to have been reglued to the body of the plate.¹² The fabric is very well levigated and homogeneous in texture, with no visible inclusions. The pinkish-orange colour tends to become lighter and pinker in tone towards the centre of the plate. The repairs which were carried out earlier, however, have resulted in part of the basic slip on the central depression being scraped off. As a result, the pinkish-buff original fabric is clearly visible. The black glaze is very smooth and shiny. The wall of this plate is 0.5 cm thick. Altogether it is a vessel of very fine quality.

The fish-plate, round and shallow, is 16 cm in diame-

ter and 4.2 cm high. The overhanging rim, curved slightly inwards, 2.7 cm wide, hides almost two-thirds of the foot, and is decorated with a wreath of unusually well drawn laurel leaves in reserve and as wide as the rim itself. The central depression, 3.5 cm in diameter and reserved, is bordered by a narrow groove, and adorned in the middle with a round reserved dot (0.4 cm) outlined by a black circle (0.2 cm wide). The outer edge of the plate itself is decorated with a band (1 cm wide) of black dots on the reserved ground, and bordered on both sides by two thin reddish-ochre lines. Some of the dots are more worn than others.

The foot, 8 cm in diameter, is unusually elaborate for this kind of vessel. It seems composed of two parts: a sort of "stem", a direct prolongation of the bottom of the central cavity of the body of the plate itself, and a wider double foot, 1.7 cm high, with a side projection of 0.5 cm, which is squeezed into the middle, and ends rather abruptly.¹³ The whole vessel looks both elegant and sturdy (Fig. 1).

The underside of the plate is black, with a wide reserved band around the junction of the foot to the body of the plate proper. Another reserved band decorates the lower part of the foot. The black glaze has been applied less carefully than on the interior, indicated in part by the fact that in places it is worn away.

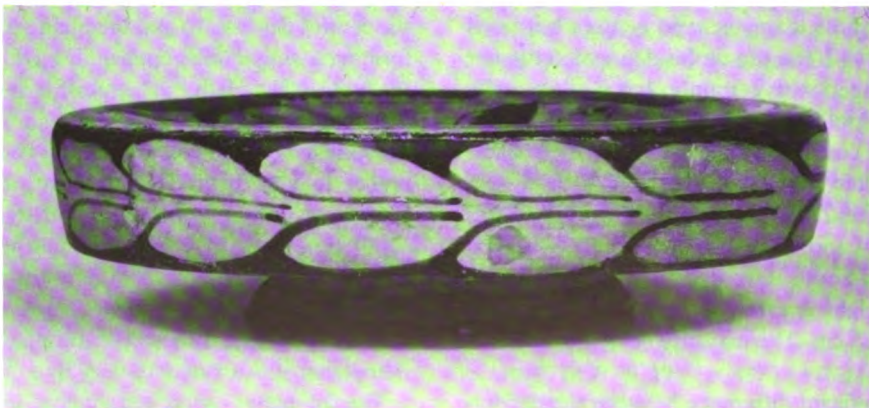
The interior of this plate, on the other hand, is covered with a shiny black glaze, and is adorned with three very finely drawn fish in triangular position and swimming counterclockwise (Fig. 2). Two of them are rather long, 11.35 cm and 10.95 cm, while the third is shorter, 7.85 cm long. The bodies are delineated in reserve, the shade of the basic slip fading slightly to-

wards the centre of the plate, thereby giving an unusual relief to their bellies. All the spines of the fins were once outlined by thick straight short strokes of yellow paint, but most of these are now worn away, leaving only dull traces on the glossy black ground. Only six yellow spines still remain on the back and the belly of the bigger fish, as well as eight back spines on the smallest fish.

The bodies of the three fish are decorated with rows of dark reddish-beige dots between thin stripes of the same colour. Only the smallest fish shows a darker brownish-red vertical band, emphasising the wide back of its head.¹⁴ What is most interesting, however, is the manner in which the features of these fish are rendered. Usually the eyes are nothing more than a plain black dot outlined with a white circle around the dot. On our plate, the white, or rather the yellowish white, circle around the black dot is accentuated by three additional strokes of very thin black glaze. These not only indicate "eyelashes", but even produce the effect of a certain "puffiness" under the eyes. The mouths have thin curled lips, but not as frequently bordered in white. Consequently, this technique only emphasises the expression already emanating from the look in the eyes. The gills are neatly outlined by three thin curved black lines. The most remarkable detail, however, is that all three fish appear to be wearing an "ear-ring" in the outer gill.¹⁵ This seems to be very unusual.¹⁶

The identification of the species depicted on this plate is not very easy due to the fact that the painter greatly simplified the rendering of his fish. Only the shape of the tail, of the nose, of the fins, as well as the location of the latter, can give us some clues.

Fig. 1. Profile of the fish-plate NM 2111.



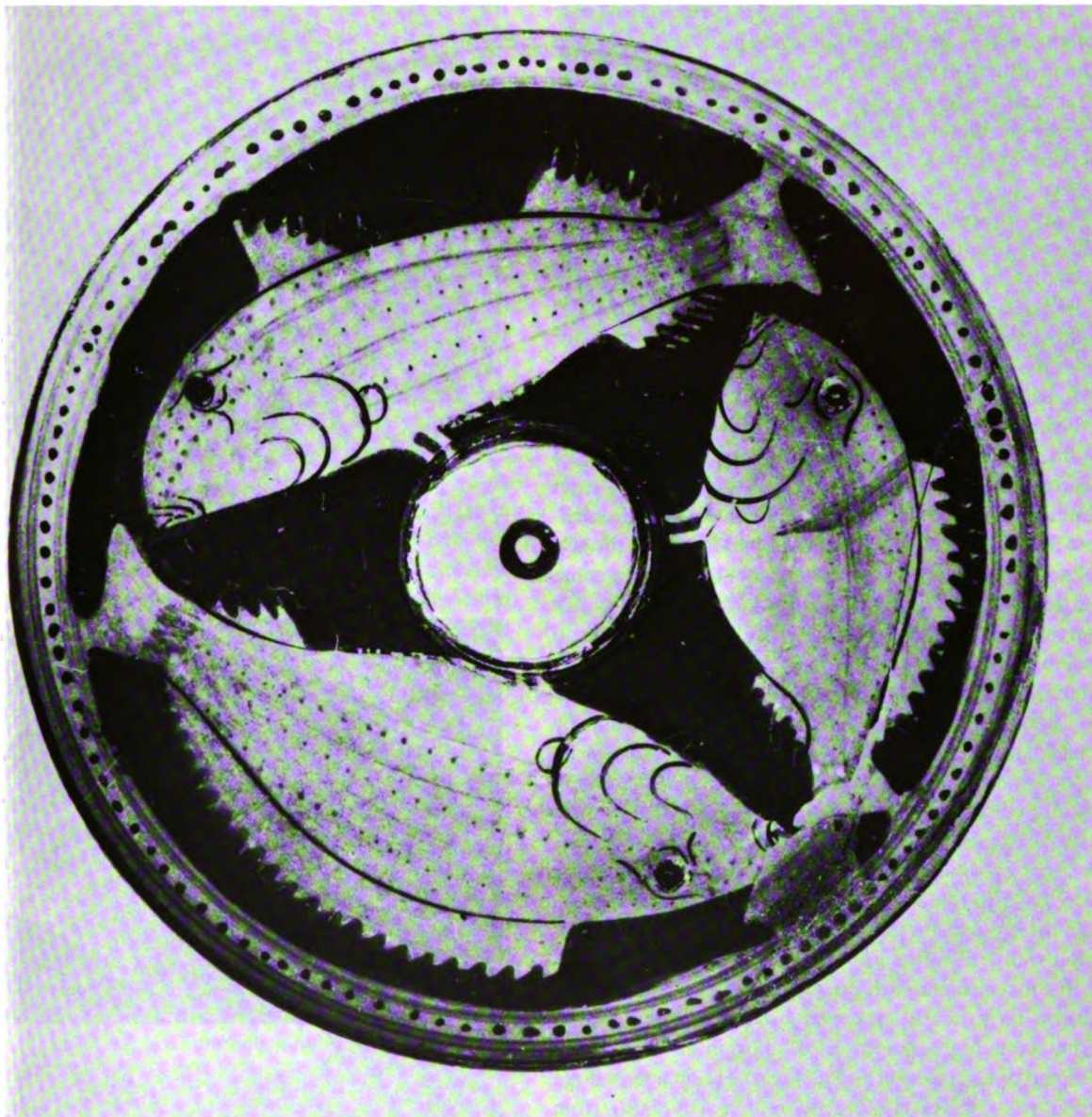


Fig. 2. View of the interior of the fish-plate NM 2111.

In spite of the fact that the tail of the smallest fish has been damaged, one can see that it was slightly fork-shaped, a detail which, with the help of the darkish band behind its head, from the back fin towards the gill, allows us to suggest that it is a *Sargus vulgaris*.¹⁷

The second largest fish has the characteristic rounded nose of a *Mullus* as well as the separate and sticky dorsal fins proper to this species. Our fish, however,

does not bear any trace of a "beard", so we may identify it as a *Mullus surmuletus*.¹⁸

The dorsal fin of the largest fish must be the main clue for its identification, because of its blurred nose. It looks very much like a *Labrus viridis*, although its belly fins appear to be very small for that species; still, this may be due to a lack of space on the surface of the plate.¹⁹

It is by no means an easy task to establish the precise origin and the date of fish-plates. This is due chiefly to the fact that very few of them come from known stratigraphical contexts.²⁰ The vast majority seem to originate from either Apulia or Campania in South Italy. Recent excavations, however, especially at Himera and Lipari, have shed new light on the beginning of red-figure pottery from Sicily and at the same time also on the possible origins of Campanian and Paestan pottery.²¹ This also has a direct bearing on the study of fish-plates. The colour of the clay plays an important role in the determination of origin. Apulian fabric, for instance, is frequently of a richer orange-red hue than the paler Campanian,²² while the Sicilian clay varies considerably in colour, namely from greyish-buff, with a deep pink wash, to warm brown-red.²³ The use of white and yellow paint is also greater on vessels from Campania than on those from Apulia,²⁴ while the earliest Sicilian pieces show a certain parsimony in the use of additive colour,²⁵ as they still seem to be under some Attic influence. On the basis of these preliminary observations, the Stockholm fish-plate does not appear to belong to either the Apulian or the Campanian, but rather to the Sicilian type.

One can in fact find support for this conclusion by considering a number of specific fish-plates from Sicily and Southern Italy, some of which have not yet been published. A number of these bear striking similarities to two distinct features of the Stockholm fish-plate: the manner in which the artist rendered the eyes and the way in which he adorned the gills with a loop, or ring. On the basis of these features, NM 2111 can be associated with a distinct Group.²⁶

If, for instance, we consider the eyes of the fish drawn on a nearly complete fish-plate (unpublished) from Santa Maria del Cedro and now in the Museum in Reggio di Calabria (Fig. 3),²⁷ and those on a very large fragment (slightly more than half a fish-plate) from Gela (Fig. 4),²⁸ one can see that the black pupil of the eye is bordered by a thin arched line, creating somewhat the impression of an eyebrow. This feature is very similar to the style of the Stockholm plate. Moreover, the lips are curled in the same way on all three plates, although the use of white paint to outline the fish is not duplicated in NM 2111.

Much more striking, however, is the loop, or ring, in the outer gill on the large fragment of a fish-plate from Rosarno and now in the Museum in Reggio di Calabria (Fig. 5).²⁹ One fish on this fragment is not unlike our *Labrus*: the same zigzag-shaped fin accentuated by



Fig. 3. Plate from Santa Maria del Cedro, Inv. 19184.

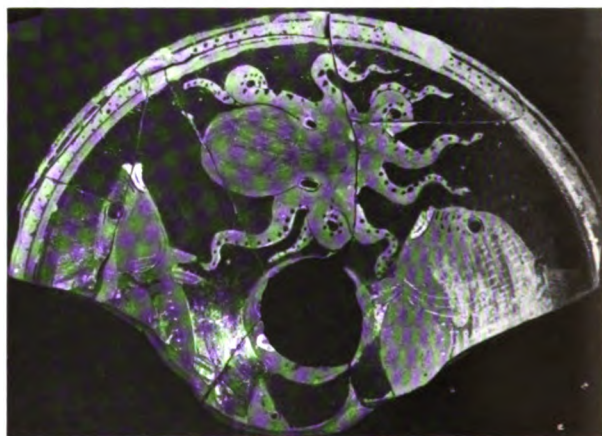


Fig. 4. Fragment of fish-plate from Gela, Inv. 8253.



Fig. 5. Fragment of fish-plate from Rosarno, Inv. RC 2807.

short strokes of additional paint, apparently worn away, and the same rows of dots and stripes to mark the scales. Although both the head and the tail are missing, the connection with the Stockholm fish-plate is very clear. The same applies to a fragmentary fish-plate from Reggio, now also in the Museum there (Fig. 6).³⁰ On it too the fish are adorned with this characteristic loop or ring.

These two features (the characteristic eye and the loop attached to the gill) also appear on a nearly complete plate from Locri and now also in the Museum in Reggio di Calabria (Fig. 7).³¹ This fish-plate is most interesting, not least because it gives the impression of being, as it were, a "rough draft" of NM 2111. We can see the same fish, one short and stout, the other two about the same size. Their scales are rendered by the stripes-and-dots technique, and all three appear to be of the same species (probably *Labrus*), in contrast to the Stockholm plate. They are, however, strikingly similar in respect of the expression on their faces (they, in fact, look rather "furious") and in the manner in which their eyebrows and the ring in their outer gill are rendered. In spite of the general "crudeness" in the drawing, the resemblance between the two is so great that one may conclude that RC 5110 comes from the same workshop as NM 2111.

The most striking piece of confirmatory evidence, however, comes from Agrigento, namely in the form of the lid of a skyphoid pyxis. It is indeed this piece which Professor Trendall has used to identify the Group.³² The decoration of this lid consists of a Triton, a Scylla, two Sea-Horses (one of them looks more like a Sea-Donkey than a Sea-Horse) and five fish (Figs. 8 and



Fig. 7. Plate from Locri, Inv. RC 5110.



Figs. 8-9. Lid of skyphoid pyxis from Agrigento, Inv. C 948.

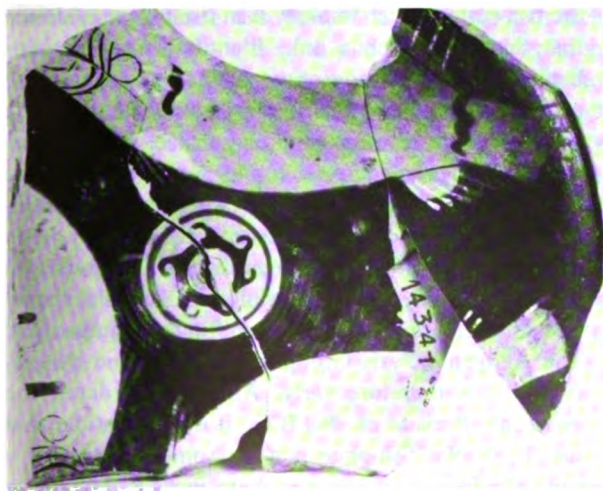


Fig. 6. Fragment of fish-plate from Reggio, Inv. RC 14341.

9).³³ The similarities between these fish and those on the Stockholm fish-plate are unmistakable: the same technique for the scales (dots and stripes in diluted glaze), the same type of fins (zigzags with short straight strokes of paint), the same gills with a loop,³⁴ and especially the highly characteristic eyes with their "eyebrows" and the "puffiness" under the eyes themselves.³⁵ There can be no doubt whatsoever that the same hand produced both vessels.

One may also attribute to the same Painter the fragment from Locri (cf. above Fig. 7), and the other fragments or plates already cited above seem also to originate from the same workshop.³⁶

Since at least some of the items from the Agrigento Pyxis Group are known to have been found in Sicily and southern Calabria, we may conjecture that the Painter was a Sicilian with strong connections, and indeed perhaps with even a workshop in Calabria, or vice versa, since his "trade marks" – the loop or ring in the gill and/or the "human" eyes – have been found in only these two districts.

The Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis seems to have developed out of the Revel Group, itself a transitional Group between Sicily and Campania.³⁷ The painters of this Group who seem to have remained in Sicily (the Scoglitti Painter and the Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis) exercised a strong influence on painters active there between ca. 380–370 and 340 B.C. Professor Trendall dated the Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis to ca. 360 B.C.³⁸

The manner of rendering the eyes of the fish on the plates of the Agrigento Pyxis Group does not, however, seem to have been an independent Sicilian invention. On the contrary, it can be traced directly to the Greek mainland. Indeed, we may even conjecture that the Sicilian Painter was still under Attic influence, if we take into account the fragment of a fish-plate excavated in the Athenian Agora in 1949 (Fig. 10).³⁹ On this sherd one can see the face of one fish and the tail section of another. From these, two facts emerge which are noteworthy: one is the way in which the dorsal fin is rendered – the zigzag style with additional strokes of diluted glaze – and the other is the manner in which the mouth, the gills and especially the eyes are painted. The latter also have the arched line just above the black pupil which is essentially similar to an "eyebrow". There is of course a basic difference in the style of both the Sicilian and the Attic fish-plates; still, in view of the similarities between the specific examples considered here, one may raise the question whether there is possi-



Fig. 10. Fragment of an Attic fish-plate, Inv. P 19856.

bly some relationship between painters of these two centres. Was Sicily to some degree still under Attic influence, or are these similarities to be considered as nothing more than coincidental?

The idea of a direct relationship between Athens and Sicily in this respect, at this time, may at first appear somewhat surprising. It is of course well known that the fish-plate as such originated in mainland Greece, namely in Attica, with the first plates dated to the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth.⁴⁰ Now, this appears to be precisely the time when "a small pottery workshop" was first established in Sicily, thought to have been in Syracuse, namely under the Chequer Painter "who certainly seems to have had an Athenian training".⁴¹ Although in subsequent local work the Attic connection becomes increasingly fainter, it would be surprising if a certain link did not continue to be maintained with Athens. Indeed, the very introduction of the fish-plate as such in Sicily is in itself clear evidence that there was such a link. Identifiable connections between certain features of the Attic technique and the earliest datable fish-plates in the West would therefore not be at all surprising. One may in fact go even further, and suggest that this connection might in some degree at least support what now appears to be a relatively early date for the fish-plate in the West.⁴²

Professor Trendall envisages fish-plates beginning in the West in Sicily or, just possibly, in Locri, and thereafter the centres of production shifting to Campania.⁴³ The Agrigento Pyxis Group forms his second category,⁴⁴ and is therefore early. Although he dated the Agrigento Pyxis to ca. 360 B.C., it is just possible that the Stockholm fish-plate may be somewhat earlier – since the Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis is thought to

have influenced the painters who were active in Sicily "between this period (ca. 380–370 B.C.) and the great revival of the pottery industry in the time of Timoleon (ca. 340 B.C.)."⁴⁵ The Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis could, accordingly, have been active as early as 380–370 B.C., a date which Trendall now supports (cf. n. 38).

This becomes less improbable when one takes into account another important aspect of this Painter's output. As already noted above, to date Professor Trendall has been able to attribute nine fish-plates to this Painter – *alias* the Group which he originated – whereas only two other types of vessels are known to be by him.⁴⁶ While one must exercise caution against reading too much into what might be the vagaries of survival, there is at least the possibility that the extant works do in fact reflect the true thrust of his activity. In that case, it may well be that he specialised, at least at one stage, in fish-plates. If this is correct, it raises the possibility that the Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis experimented first with fish-plates, in an early phase of his career. This, accordingly, makes it possible to suggest a date of 380–370 B.C. for NM 2111.

This specialisation may also place the fish-plates of this Group in somewhat of a new light, by suggesting that fish-plates were fairly popular among the Sicilians in the early fourth century. This would be natural enough if this popularity coincided with their initial introduction, at all events in some quarters.⁴⁷

In conclusion, it may be said that the Stockholm fish-plate assumes considerable importance. For one thing, it is, by reason of its good state of preservation and especially the outstanding quality of the decoration,⁴⁸ the best piece within the Group. Secondly, it is on this plate that one can best observe the distinctive features which characterise this Painter's style, some of which do not recur in any other fish-plates. Thirdly, by reason of its unmistakable connection with the Agrigento Pyxis, it becomes possible to date this plate with a good measure of confidence, and even to assign it an early date – thus placing it among the earliest of its kind in the West. Lastly, it is one of the few specifically local fish-plates which demonstrates a clear link with Attic prototypes. Altogether, therefore, not only can it be appreciated as a modest work of art, but it also assumes specific importance within the study of fish-plates as a whole.

¹ I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. C.-G. Styrenius, Director of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, in Stockholm and to Dr. P. Hellström, Director of the Graeco-Roman Department of the same Museum for inviting me to study this fish-plate and to publish it as well as for all the help they provided to me. I should like to thank in particular Dr. E. F. Bloedow, professor at the University of Ottawa for his most valuable comments, criticism, advice and moral support during the preparation of this paper. I owe a very special thanks to Professor A. D. Trendall, La Trobe University, who, with extraordinary generosity, provided me with the photographs of most of the Sicilian and Calabrian comparative material used in this study as well as a copy of the relevant chapter of the *Corpus* about fish-plates which he will soon publish together with Dr. Ian McPhee.

² It was then labelled "Attic".

³ The rectangular fish-plate in the Louvre, in Paris (Inv. K 590), seems to be an exception.

⁴ A considerable number of fish-plates, especially from Attica, are undecorated and totally covered with black glaze. Still they bear all the principal features which characterise the decorated plates: the overhanging rim, the raised foot and the central depression.

⁵ There are some exceptions. For instance, the overhanging rim of the rectangular plate in the Louvre (Inv. K 590) is decorated with a row of daisy-like flowers and two plates, one from the Museo Arqueologico Nacional in Madrid (Inv. 11369) and one from the Robinson Collection in Baltimore (CVA USA 7, Pl. XXVI, 3a, b), are decorated with a garland of reserved ivy leaves joined by thin wavy white lines to small white flowers (five dots around a larger one in the centre). This type of decoration, however, is not very common.

⁶ This depression seems to be a most important feature of the fish-plate. On an Etruscan plate in the Museo Nazionale Cerveteri (no inventory number), the painter created a depression "en trompe l'oeil" in the middle of a plate, decorated with four fish, by the addition of carefully painted concentric circles simulating the groove and a band of dog-tooth pattern around this "mock" depression (cf. M. del Chiaro, "An Etruscan (Caeretan) Fish-Plate", in A. Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall*, Sydney 1979, p. 57–59, Pl. 14). The depression is found even on the plain black plates.

⁷ D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus XIII*, Baltimore 1950, p. 128.

⁸ L. Lacroix, *La faune marine dans la décoration des plats à poissons*, Verviers 1937, p. 33.

⁹ Cf. however, the remarks by K. Zimmermann, "Unteritalische Fishteller", *Zeitschr. d. Univ. Rostock. 16. Gesellsch. u. sprachwiss. Reihe*. H. 7/8, 1967, p. 562.

¹⁰ One should draw attention in particular to the Attic fish-plates which doubtless began to be produced in Athens ca. the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C. They differ from the South Italian fish-plates by their larger

size, a much flatter shape, an overhanging rim which almost hides the foot, the typically red clay and the brilliant technique which does not use any additional colour.

¹¹ Cf. L. Lacroix, *La faune marine dans la décoration des plats à poissons*, Verviers 1937, p. 30, M. del Chiaro "An Etruscan (Caeretan) Fish-Plate", in A. Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall*, Sydney 1979, p. 58, and E. F. Bloedow and C. Björk, "An 'Apulian' Red-Figure Fish-Plate in the Museum Collection of the Department of Classical Studies at the University of Ottawa" in P. Brind'Amour (ed.), *Mélanges offerts en hommage au Révérend Père Etienne Garneau*, Ottawa 1982, p. 95.

¹² The way the damage seems to have occurred and been repaired suggests that the foot and the bottom section of the central depression, in fact, belong together. In the Antikensammlung in Munich, a plate (Inv. 6477) lacking both foot and the bottom of the depression, as well as the large fragment from Gela (Inv. 8253), for instance, seem to substantiate the idea that the potter made the plate with the hole in the middle separately from the foot before joining them together prior to firing. This could also explain the narrow groove around the edge of the central cavity found on most plates of better quality. It would indeed be a convenient way to camouflage the junction.

¹³ Cf. CVA Italia XI, Tav. 6, V. 8, for a profile whose general shape is very similar to the Stockholm fish-plate.

¹⁴ For a similar way of rendering fish, cf., for instance, CVA Belgique, fasc. II, Pl. 5, 2, CVA Belgique, fasc. III, Pl. 4, 3, and CVA Great Britain 2, Pls. 12, 21, 22 and 14.

¹⁵ One cannot help thinking of Pliny's description of Caesar's and Hortensius' Lamprey ponds, but especially of Antonia (Drusus' wife), who "adorned her favorite lamprey with earrings" (N. H. IX, lxxxii, 172). Admittedly none of the fish depicted on the Stockholm fish-plate can be identified as lampreys, and, at all events, the incident took place at least three centuries after the making of this plate. None the less, it is just possible that this fish-plate gives a hint that the Romans may have inherited the idea of adorning fish with earrings from the Greeks of South Italy, or is it purely a coincidence?

¹⁶ But it is not unique. This loop is clearly visible, for instance, on the fragment of a fish-plate from Locri, now in Reggio di Calabria (Inv. 2807, in NSc 1917, p. 57, fig. 31).

¹⁷ Cf. L. Lacroix, *La faune marine dans la décoration des plats à poissons*, Verviers 1937, p. 41 and D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London 1947, p. 227.

¹⁸ Cf. W. Luther and K. Fiedler, *Die Unterwasserfauna der Mittelmeerküsten*, Hamburg-Berlin 1961, Taf. 5, p. 56; also D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London 1947, p. 110f. A type of fish very similar to this one has been identified as a *Mullus barbatus* on another fish-plate (cf. CVA Italia XI, Tav. 2, 4, and H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases of the British Museum* IV, London 1896, p. 120). Our fish, however, lacks the "beard" which seems to be an important characteristic of this variety of *Mullus*. Thus we quite probably have a *surmuletus* rather than a *barbatus* on the

Stockholm fish-plate.

¹⁹ G. Leroux, *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid*, Bordeaux et Paris 1912, p. 201, 202. Leroux does not specifically identify these fish as *Labrus*, as does Lacroix, but the similarity is very strong.

²⁰ The stratigraphical contexts of a few plates found in Italy (e.g., from Spina, tombs in the Maddaloni region and Caserta) are known, but such cases are rare and only of limited help. The fish-plates from the Greek mainland are very important, especially those found in the Athenian Agora, as they provide a solid base for dating the Attic type.

²¹ Cf. A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Supplement II, Oxford 1973, p. 146.

²² See A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, p. 191.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

²⁴ A. D. Trendall, *JHS* 57, 1937, p. 268.

²⁵ But this use of colour, hitherto much more discreet on Italiote pottery than on Attic wares, was soon to become standard practice (cf. J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, F. Villard, *Classical Greek Art*, New York 1972, p. 308).

²⁶ Professor Trendall has isolated this Group, which he calls "The Agrigento Pyxis Group". I am deeply indebted to Professor Trendall for pointing out this Group to me and also for invaluable suggestions about various connections between this Group and the Stockholm fish-plate.

²⁷ The photograph of RC 19184 was taken by Dr. J. R. Guy with the permission of the Superintendent of the Reggio Museum, for the forthcoming volume on fish-plates by I. McPhee and A. D. Trendall, who kindly provided a photograph of this fragment for me.

²⁸ Inv. 8253. The photograph was generously provided by Professor De Miro, Soprintendente, Agrigento, who also kindly granted permission to reproduce it here.

²⁹ Inv. RC 2807. Cf. NSc 1917, p. 57, fig. 31. Although, for this photograph, see above n. 27.

³⁰ Inv. RC 14341. See above n. 27.

³¹ Inv. 5110. For the photograph of this yet unpublished fragment, see above n. 27.

³² Professor Trendall identifies this pyxis with the Painter of the Agrigento Pyxis (A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, p. 210, and cf., above n. 26).

³³ Inv. C948. The photographs of the lid have been generously provided by Professor De Miro, Soprintendente, Agrigento, who also granted permission to reproduce them here.

³⁴ Although, on the Pyxis lid, the fish between the two Sea-Horses wears its loop in front of the gill.

³⁵ This is especially the case in the fish between the two Sea-Horses and the large fish between the Triton and the Scylla.

³⁶ Although the brush strokes among the various pieces are of slightly varying quality, the interconnections are manifestly very strong.

³⁷ On the Revel Group, cf. A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, p. 210-

221. This Group appears, in turn, to have been strongly influenced by the Dirce Group. The Revel Painter himself seems to have been active in Campania, namely ca. 370 B.C.

³⁸ Although, in his forthcoming book co-authored with Dr. I. McPhee, *Greek Red-Figured Fish-plates*, Professor Trendall puts back the date of the Agrigento Pyxis Painter to 380 B.C. (pers. com.). This Painter is known specifically by two vases, this skyphoid pyxis (Inv. C 948) and a skyphos fragment, also in Agrigento (Ag 5076). He is identified chiefly on the basis of certain features which characterise the human figures, although there seems to be a number of features which link him with the Scoglitti Group (cf. A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, p. 218).

³⁹ Inv. P 19856, by kind permission of Professor Corbett, University of London.

⁴⁰ From Athens they spread both East and West. Some of the best Attic specimens (imports) have been found as far afield as southern Russia. Only a few Attic imports have been found in southern Italy. On the contrary, it appears to have been chiefly the "idea" of the fish-plate which spread to the West, for, as noted above, there is a fundamental difference in the way in which the plates are decorated here, compared with their Attic counterparts.

⁴¹ Cf. A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, p. 220.

⁴² Until recently fish-plates here have been dated to "the last third of the fourth century" (cf. K. Zimmermann, "Unteritalische Fishteller", *Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Univ. Rostock*. 16. Jahrg. *Gesellsch. u. sprachwiss. Reihe*, H. 7/8, 1967, p. 651).

⁴³ A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Supplement III, London 1973, 89 ff.

⁴⁴ Preceded only by the Morgantina Group, consisting of five possible pieces.

⁴⁵ A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, p. 210.

⁴⁶ Apart from the two vases in Agrigento (see above n. 38), six fish-plate fragments of various sizes and two or three whole plates – one in Stockholm (NM 2111), one in Alexandria (Inv. 17058) and probably one in Oxford (Inv. 1941.193) – have been found to date.

⁴⁷ Professor Trendall, in a private communication, informed me of two interesting facts: first the absence of Attic imports as well as the relative scarcity of locally manufactured fish-plates in Sicily and, second, of the complete disappearance of Sicilian fish-plates after 340 B.C. He therefore, does not quite agree with me on this point.

⁴⁸ In this respect, it is in fact to be ranked among the finest fish-plates from Sicily and southern Italy, of which, according to Professor Trendall, approximately 800 are known to exist.

A Bronze Lamp in the von Beskow Collection

Örjan Wikander

Among the classical antiquities brought to Sweden in 1844 by Baron Bernhard von Beskow,¹ perhaps the most remarkable single item is a bronze lamp which has neither been published before nor, to my knowledge, presented to the public in any of the Museum's exhibitions. It was bequeathed in 1869 to the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien), which, only a few years later, in 1886, deposited it, together with other items of von Beskow's collection, in the National Museum. It remained there, under the inventory number NM 1065, until 1957, when the entire deposit was transferred to the recently founded Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet). The only period after its acquisition by von Beskow in Italy during which there is any obscurity concerning the history of the lamp is, thus, the years 1869–1886, when it was kept, without being marked with an inventory number, in the collections of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. Considering the shortness of the period in question and the generally intact state of preservation of the von Beskow collection,² I find no reason to doubt the identity of the lamp in the Medelhavsmuseet with the lamp once acquired and bequeathed by von Beskow.

MM SHM 4166:41

Bronze lamp. Length, including handle and thumb-plate, 18.7 cm (11.8 cm without). Max. width 6.7 cm. Height, including lid, 11.0 cm.

Round body tapering in width towards nozzle to a minimum of 2.9 cm. Max. width of nozzle 4.6 cm. The wick-hole is elliptical (Length 2.2 cm; Width 3.9 cm); in front of it, 0.7 cm below the edge, there is a small, circular hole (Diam. 0.4 cm) in the wall of the nozzle. The circular filling-hole (Diam. 1.8–1.9 cm) is sur-

rounded by a 1.5-cm-high, funnel-like neck (Diam. 2.3–2.4 cm). Around the opening, there is a flange 0.3–0.4 cm high and about as wide. Behind the opening, a hinge rises 2.2 cm above the body, with a rivet holding a 4.4-cm-high, conical lid (Max. diam. 2.7–2.8 cm).

The ring-shaped, vertical band-handle is 1.5–1.8 cm wide and 0.3–0.5 cm thick, with a diameter of 2.6–2.7 cm. The handle carries a horizontal thumb-plate dividing into three tips: Min. width 1.5 cm; Estimated max. width c. 4.4 cm; Thickness 0.3–0.8 cm.

Slightly elliptical base-ring, pointing towards nozzle: Length 4.7 cm; Width 3.7 cm; Height 0.9–1.0 cm; Thickness 0.5 cm.

No decoration. Green patina. The hinged lid can still easily be moved. The nozzle has received a blow, which has slightly deformed the wick-hole. One of the tips of the thumb-plate is missing.

While our knowledge of ancient terracotta lamps has improved considerably since scholars like Walters and Loeschke began classifying them at the beginning of this century, our understanding of the bronze lamps remains limited. The material available is minute compared with the exceedingly numerous terracotta lamps, and until recently it has attracted remarkably little interest. To this, it must be added that the production of bronze lamps to a great extent developed independently of that of the terracotta lamps. Accordingly, we cannot make extensive use of our detailed knowledge of the terracotta material.³

Remarkably few bronze lamps have been found at major excavations. This may be illustrated by the following figures: *Delos*, 7 bronze lamps against 4778 of terracotta; *The Athenian Agora* (Roman period), 8 bronze lamps against 2949 of terracotta; *Vindobona*, 6 bronze lamps against 247 of terracotta; *Lauriacum*, 6

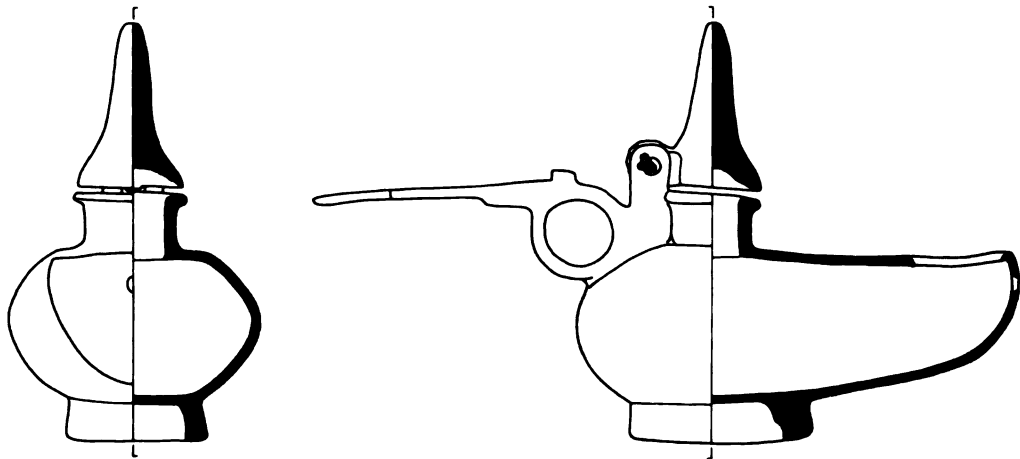


bronze lamps against 389 of terracotta; *Dura-Europos*, 33 bronze lamps against 421 of terracotta; etc.⁴ Still, in absolute numbers, the material available is far from insignificant, and it has largely been published in a satisfactory way. Fine illustrations of almost half of the c. 400 bronze lamps, mainly from Pompeii and Herculaneum, kept at the Museo Nazionale at Naples appeared as early as 1792,⁵ and the large collection at the Museo Nazionale Romano was published recently.⁶ Walters published 122 lamps in the British Museum, Iványi 78 from Pannonia, Menzel 53 at Mainz, and Boube-Piccot a large number from Morocco.⁷ I see no reason to mention here the numerous publications of smaller collections from excavations and museums, since an extremely comprehensive bibliography has appeared recently.⁸

Accordingly, far more than a thousand ancient bronze lamps are available for study in comparatively easily accessible publications; yet the classification of the material has only just begun. Walters made a rudi-

mentary division of the British Museum lamps. Loeschke's material was too small (13 lamps) to allow of any far-reaching conclusions being drawn. Iványi created a typology for the Pannonian bronze lamps, but she was fully aware of its inherent uncertainties and limited scope.⁹ Later attempts, too, suffer from serious limitations and shortcomings. To a great extent, the typologies tend to be based upon incompatible criteria, in that some types are characterized by the shape of the body, others by a decorative detail, etc. Often one and the same "type" comprises lamps of the most diverging appearances, of different origins and of dates which may vary between late Hellenistic times and early Byzantine.¹⁰ Moreover, the extant literature provides little or no information on the appearance and history of specific details, like my discussion of the filling-hole and its lid below.

As to the von Beskow lamp, I have not found any really close parallel and, for the reasons stated above, I do not regard its assignment to any of the existing types



as being of much help in trying to determine the origin of the lamp in time and space.¹¹ Such an attribution must include all the characteristic details before the general impression of the lamp is considered.

1. *Shape of body.* Bronze lamps with the characteristic, evenly rounded ("ovoid" or "piriform") body, tapering continuously until the nozzle widens again, occur exceptionally as early as late Hellenistic times and the early Empire.¹² It should, however, be observed that the overwhelming majority of the lamps from these periods differ in one decisive respect from the von Beskow lamp: their upper surfaces are flat. Occasional examples of the shape discussed here occur throughout Imperial times,¹³ but it does not become common until the IV-VII centuries A.D., when a number of good parallels are known, many of them unmistakably dated to that period by the Christian cross on their thumb-plates.¹⁴

2. *Nozzle and wick-hole.* The nozzle of the von Beskow lamp, in one piece with the body if seen side-face, widening markedly if seen from above, was never common. Most lamps of the body shape discussed above have a more elaborated nozzle and, above all, an out-turned rim around the wick-hole.¹⁵ From the early Empire, there are lamps with nozzles similar to that of the von Beskow lamp, except for their flat, upper surfaces,¹⁶ but there are also more convincing parallels.¹⁷ Others are dated by the Christian cross on the thumb-plate to late Antiquity or early Byzantine times.¹⁸ The markedly elliptical shape of the von Beskow lamp's

wick-hole has, to my knowledge, no counterpart anywhere.

3. *Filling-hole.* One of the most peculiar details of the von Beskow lamp is the high, cylindrical neck surrounding the filling-hole. As a rule, this hole is just a plain opening. On Imperial lamps, there is occasionally a low ring or "flange" around the hole,¹⁹ but only at a late date do we encounter true counterparts to the funnel of the von Beskow lamp. On two lamps at Boston and Detroit, dated in the IV-VI centuries A.D., the ring has grown into a separate, low cylinder,²⁰ and on a lamp at Mainz the cylinder has a height equivalent to that of the von Beskow lamp.²¹ Other examples are to be found among late, eastern lamps, such as a lamp at the Medelhavsmuseet which is allegedly from Luristan.²²

4. *Lid.* As a rule, the filling-hole is left open, but there are examples from various periods of its being protected by a cover or lid. A number of lamps from Pompeii and Herculaneum have a detachable lid over the hole, but, as early as late Hellenistic times, we meet with the more efficient solution of a lid attached to the lamp by a hinge.²³ To begin with, the lid was normally undecorated, but soon some decorative types developed, three of which remained in use for a long time: a supine face,²⁴ a shell,²⁵ and a cone decorated with toruses and cavettos, strongly reminiscent of the most common shape of chess pawn. The latter is the most usual type of lid. It occurs at Pompeii,²⁶ but it is far more common in the IV-VII centuries A.D. The "pawn" may be attached to a large plate, which in that case constitutes the real

lid.²⁷ It may have the additional decoration of a bird,²⁸ and it is found in various degrees of elaboration or simplification.²⁹ The conical lid of the von Beskow lamp lacks any kind of decoration; still, it seems difficult not to regard it as an extremely simplified variant of the pawns so often met with on early Christian, bronze lamps.

5. *Handle*. Vertical ring-handles are found on bronze lamps, as well as on those of terracotta, dating from the last century B.C. onwards. During the Roman Empire and early Byzantine times, they were so common and the variations in shape were so insignificant that they can hardly be used as a distinctive criterion here. The single remarkable trait of the von Beskow lamp's handle is its fairly high location, but not even that was particularly unusual, either in Imperial times or later.³⁰

6. *Thumb-plate*. This part of the lamp is about as old as the vertical ring-handle. In the early Empire it was often in the shape of a plain crescent or a stylized leaf,³¹ while in late Antiquity it mostly consisted of a Christian cross of varying shape³² or expanded to larger and larger dimensions.³³ In most cases, the thumb-plate rises at an angle of between 45° and 90°, but, particularly when it has the shape of a stylized leaf, it may be placed almost horizontally.³⁴ Even though the shape of the von Beskow lamp's thumb-plate is little reminiscent of a leaf, it is likely to be derived from that kind of decoration.

7. *Base-ring*. Most earlier bronze lamps have a slightly raised, flat base or a very low base-ring. Higher base-rings occur as early as Hellenistic times,³⁵ but during that period, as well as in the early Empire, they are normally more or less flaring.³⁶ Closer parallels to the von Beskow lamp's base are mostly late and assignable to the IV–VII centuries A.D.³⁷ Of particular importance is an early Christian lamp in the British Museum, whose base not only shows a general resemblance but also the specifically oval shape pointing towards the nozzle.³⁸

To sum up, all the details of the von Beskow lamp (except, perhaps, for the neck around the filling-hole, item 3) have parallels from late Hellenistic times onwards or at least from the earliest years of the Roman Empire. However, it emerges quite as clearly that in many cases these parallels should rather be considered as exceptions from the rule, while the corresponding details became general only from the IV century A.D.

onwards (see particularly items 1, 4 and 7). In one case only, the thumb-plate (item 6), there are no close parallels from early Christian times, but in that case earlier parallels are not much more convincing.

The impression conveyed by the details is further corroborated when we proceed to consider the lamp as a whole. As I pointed out earlier, no complete counterpart to the von Beskow lamp seems to be known, but several lamps show so many common traits that the general impression is very similar. Of these, I would like to mention, above all, two groups of bronze lamps at Mainz and Palermo³⁹ and three lamps in London, Boston and Rome⁴⁰ – all of them referred to repeatedly in the discussion above. In six of these eleven lamps, the cross on the thumb-plate also proves that they belong to the early Christian period, and the same is almost certainly true of the others as well. Since von Beskow allegedly purchased parts of his antique collection at Pompeii,⁴¹ it is, of course, tempting to try to refer the lamp to that place, but a study of the lavishly illustrated publications of bronze lamps in *Antichità di Ercolano* VIII and Roux-Barré VI does not encourage such speculations. The single, published lamp at the Museo Nazionale at Naples which is to some extent reminiscent of that of von Beskow lacks both inventory number and known provenience and should presumably also be assigned to early Christian times.⁴² Consequently, I see every reason to date the von Beskow lamp, too, in the IV–VII centuries A.D.

Regarding the lamp's geographical origin, there is not much to be said. Lamps of this general kind have been found in such distant areas as the German *limes*, Sicily and Morocco. Others come from Syria or Coptic Egypt.⁴³ Naturally, this distribution does not admit of any conclusions being drawn concerning the origin of this specific lamp. Nor does it occasion surprise that the lamp was found in Italy, which seems inevitable, no matter whether von Beskow purchased it at Pompeii or in Rome.

The von Beskow lamp has little to offer in the matter of artistry or beauty. But it does reveal the difficulties which we encounter whenever a bronze lamp does not fit into the most obvious, established typologies. Too little has been done yet to bring order into and analyze this category of artifacts. Valenza's studies of the important finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum promise to provide a better understanding of the earlier material; Fallico has made essential contributions concerning the latest. On the whole, however, the ancient bronze lamps remain an almost untouched field of research.

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- Valenza** N. Valenza, "Le lucerne di bronzo del Museo di Napoli", *L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale*, Roma 1977 (Quaderni di cultura materiale), pp. 157-161.
- Walters** H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman lamps in the British Museum*, London 1914.
- Walters Art Gallery** *Early Christian and Byzantine art*, An exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, April 25-June 22, organized by the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1947.
- Wikander 1981** Ö. Wikander, "The Comparative Collection. Early antique collecting in Sweden", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 16, 1981, pp. 47-57.
- Wikander 1983** Ö. Wikander, "Etruscan bronzes in the von Beskow Collection", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18, 1983, pp. 26-44.

¹ About von Beskow and his collection of antiquities, see Wikander 1981, pp. 52–53, and Wikander 1983, *passim*.
² Cf. Wikander 1981, p. 52, and Wikander 1983, p. 26, with n. 5.
³ Cf. Valenza, pp. 157 and 160–161, and Menzel, p. 106.
⁴ Bronze: *Delos XXVI*, nos. 4779–4785; *Agora VII*, nos. 2943–2950; Neumann, nos. 248–253; Deringer, nos. 401–406; *Dura-Europos IV:3*, nos. 422–454.
⁵ *Antichità di Ercolano VIII*, *passim*. Cf. also Roux-Barré VI, Pls. 1–61.
⁶ de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, *passim*.
⁷ Walters, pp. 1–19 nos. 1–117, and p. 222 nos. 1468–1472; Iványi, pp. 297–304 nos. 4278–4355; Menzel, pp. 106–123 nos. 667–719; Boube-Piccot, *passim*.
⁸ de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, pp. 110–114.
⁹ Iványi, p. 22: "Grosse Serien fehlen uns, die Funde sind selten. Unsere typologische Einteilung, welche nur solche Formen zu Gruppen zusammenfasst, die im Allgemeinen übereinstimmen, in den Einzelheiten aber von einander verschieden sind, kann nicht darauf den Anspruch erheben, für die typologische Einreihung zukünftiger Fundstücke als Grundlage dienen."
¹⁰ This is partly true even of Valenza, even though, in her important grouping of the material from Pompeii and Herculaneum, she explicitly repudiates the foundations of many earlier typologies: "I gruppi sono stati distinti soprattutto in base alle diversità funzionali dell'oggetto. Si è infatti tenuto conto, nella suddivisione tipologica, dell'insieme degli elementi che compongono la lucerna (vasca, becco, disco, unione di questi tra di loro), sembrandomi scorretto, nel delineare una tipologia, isolare uno solo di questi elementi, prescindendo da tutti gli altri." (Valenza, p. 158.)
¹¹ The closest of the established types seems to be Type XXXV of Iványi: "Birnförmige kugelige Lampe mit Mondsichel- oder Blatthenkel" (Iványi, p. 24).
¹² See Menzel, nos. 682 and 688, and p. 106.
¹³ Walters, no. 103; Iványi, nos. 4315 and 4316; Szentlélek, no. 288; de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, nos. II 4, 5 and 12, and III 8.
¹⁴ Walters, no. 104; *Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 242, 251 and 252; Kapitän–Fallico, Figs. 3 and 7; Menzel, nos. 692, 693, 695 and 696; Szentlélek, no. 289; Fallico, nos. 8–11.
¹⁵ See, for instance, Walters, no. 104; Kapitän–Fallico, Figs. 3 and 7.
¹⁶ See, for instance, Deringer, no. 401.
¹⁷ Walters, no. 103; Iványi, no. 4315; Szentlélek, no. 288.
¹⁸ *Walters Art Gallery*, no. 242; Menzel, no. 693.
¹⁹ Walters, no. 103; Deringer, no. 401; Szentlélek, no. 288; Boube-Piccot, no. 190; Valenza, no. 7; de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, nos. II 4 and 5, and III 8.
²⁰ *Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 242 and 251.
²¹ Menzel, no. 690. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 691, with a similar, though hexagonal, neck around the hole.

²² Inv.no. MM 1963:11; not published. Similar necks are found on terracotta lamps, occasionally during the last two centuries B.C. but particularly in Byzantine times. See *Corinth IV:2*, pp. 52 (Type XII), 55–56 (Type XV), 125 (nos. 1558–1560), 147–148 (no. 184), and 149 (no. 195).
²³ See, for instance, Walters, no. 6; *Delos XXVI*, nos. 4779–4781. Cf. Menzel, p. 106.
²⁴ Valenza, no. 4 (from Pompeii); Menzel, no. 688; Walters, no. 104 (early Christian/Byzantine).
²⁵ *Delos XXVI*, no. 4780 (Hellenistic); *Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 251 and 252; Menzel, no. 696; Fallico, nos. 7 and 10 (all dated between the IV and VI centuries A.D.). For a terracotta imitation of this type of lamp, see *Agora VII*, p. 102 no. 370, Pl. 11.
²⁶ Spinazzola, Pl. 262.
²⁷ See, for instance, Menzel, no. 693; Fallico, no. 8.
²⁸ de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, no. I 4. This lamp is decorated with the Christian cross, but the motif of a bird on the pawn occurs much earlier on the Pompeian lamp mentioned *supra*, n. 26. The bird is also combined with the shell-shaped lid: *Walters Art Gallery*, no. 242.
²⁹ Compare, for instance, the varying shapes among the following: *Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 238, 239 and 250; Blazquez, no. 12; Kapitän–Fallico, Figs. 3 and 7; Menzel, nos. 694 and 719; Szentlélek, no. 289; Valenza, no. 7; de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, no. XXIV 10.
³⁰ See, for instance, Kapitän–Fallico, Fig. 7a; de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, nos. II 12, III 8, and VII 1 and 2.
³¹ Cf. Iványi, p. 24 Type XXXV, and Menzel, p. 106.
³² *Walters Art Gallery*, nos. 242, 251 and 252; Menzel, nos. 692, 693, 695 and 696; Fallico, no. 8. Analogously, we may in the same place find the Jewish, seven-branched candle-stick: Boube-Piccot, no. 190.
³³ See, for instance, Kapitän–Fallico, Figs. 3 and 7; Fallico, nos. 7, 10 and 11.
³⁴ See, for instance, Walters, no. 6; de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, nos. VII 1 and 2.
³⁵ Menzel, p. 106. Cf. Walters, no. 6.
³⁶ See, for instance, Deringer, nos. 401 and 402; Menzel, no. 682; Szentlélek, nos. 278 and 279.
³⁷ *Walters Art Gallery*, no. 242; Menzel, nos. 692 and 693; Fallico, no. 11; Boube-Piccot, no. 190.
³⁸ Walters, no. 104. Unfortunately, the shape of the base-ring is not evident in the publication. I would like to thank Dr. Brian Cook, keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, and Dr. Donald Bailey for letting me study the lamp personally.
³⁹ Menzel, nos. 692, 693, 695 and 696; Fallico, nos. 8–11.
⁴⁰ Walters, no. 104; *Walters Art Gallery*, no. 242; de'Spagnolis–De Carolis, no. VII 2.
⁴¹ Wikander 1983, p. 26, with n. 4, and p. 41.
⁴² Valenza, no. 7, p. 159.
⁴³ Kapitän–Fallico, p. 92. Cf. Fallico, pp. 146–147.

Notes from the Greco-Roman Department

In this article, some recent acquisitions made by the Greco-Roman Department are briefly presented. Some of the notes below are intended only as brief, preliminary accounts of objects that will be presented more fully in forthcoming studies. In a few cases, however, we consider the present notes sufficient for the time being. Common to them all is our desire to call attention to them as interesting, recently acquired objects.

An Attic, Three-figure, Grave Stela

In 1984, the Museum received as a gift a Late Classical grave stela (inv. no. MM 1984:12), acquired by the donor on the antiquities market in London. The stela is 88 cm high and 57 cm wide. It is of white marble with greyish veinings and a faint, golden patina. The surface is rather worn and chipped and shows cracks. It has probably suffered from the cleaning with acid. Deep cuts can be seen beneath the stool on which the woman is sitting and beneath the man, whose feet are missing. The stela has once cracked but is now restored and mended.

The sides of the stela seem to have been dressed level with the claw-chisel, while the back has simply been roughly worked with the point.

The relief proper shows a young woman, seated on a backless stool and clasping the hand of an older man, standing in front of her. Between them appears the head of another woman.

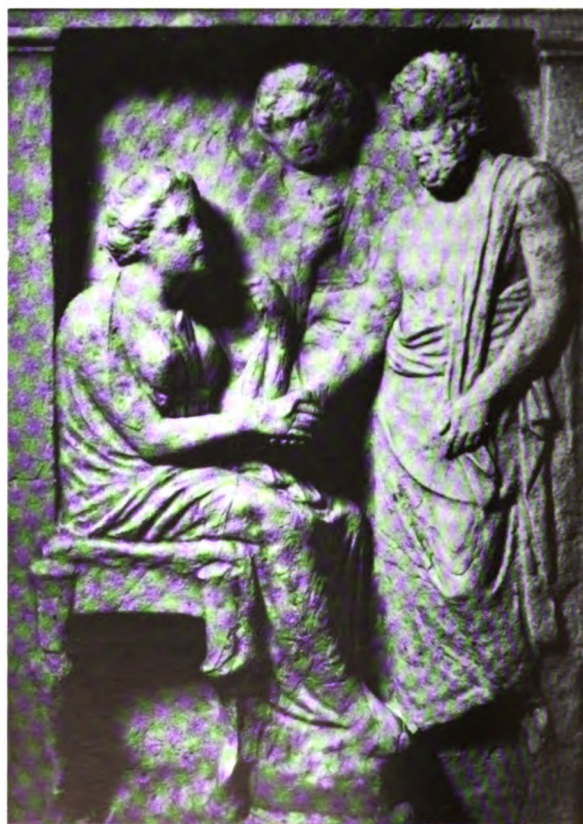
The two women are dressed in chiton and himation and the man wears a himation, which leaves his right shoulder bare. The seated woman is holding up one end of her mantle in a gesture characteristic of the time. Shallow pilasters frame the scene, supporting a cornice crowned by a horizontal row of palmettes, suggesting

the side elevation of a building with antefixes along the edge of the roof. One pilaster is overlapped by the man's left arm.

The women have centrally-parted, wavy hair, brushed up over the ears. The hair and beard of the man seem to have been worked with the running drill.

The stela evidently comes from Attica and belongs to the late Classical period. It should probably be dated to ca. 330 B.C.

Marie-Louise Winbladh





An Apulian Bell-Krater by the Iris Painter

The red-figured bell-krater MM 1979:6 was acquired in 1979. There is no information about its provenience.

Height: 33.5 cm. *Diam. of rim:* 35.5 cm. *Diam. of body:* 25.5 cm.

Obverse: A satyr and a nude youth, both with tambourines.

Reverse: Two draped youths. The youth to the left is holding a stick.

Subsidiary decoration: Laurels, tongues, palmette tendrils and meanders.

From the late fifth century B.C. onwards, Apulian red-figure painting follows two distinct styles – The “Plain” style and the “Ornate” style. MM 1979:6 can be attributed to the Hoppin-Lecce workshop, one of the “Plain”-style workshops.¹ The most popular vase-shape among painters of the “Plain” style is the bell-krater painted on the obverse with pursuit or Dionysiac scenes and draped youths on the reverse. Most bell-kraters are decorated with a wreath of laurel round the rim. Below the design, there is a scrappily drawn band of meanders confined to the area below the pictures or continuing



round the vase. Beneath the handles there is a palmette decoration in most cases and round the handles tongues.

Characteristic of the Hoppin-Lecce group are the meanders confined to the area below the pictures and the use of small, palmette tendrils, which can only be found on vases attributed to the Hoppin-Lecce group. Noteworthy also is the pattern of the tambourines, which is characteristic of the Lecce Painter and one of his followers – the Iris Painter. The satyr on the obverse of MM 1979:6 is almost identical with two satyrs on vases attributed to the Iris Painter.² The style of the figures is unique but still influenced by the Lecce Painter. The figures are coarser and the heads are rather large.

The draped youths on the reverse have a thick black border with squiggly lines at the corners and an S-shaped border to the overhang, a treatment frequently employed by both the Lecce Painter and the Iris Painter. Characteristic of the Iris Painter is the thick, black stripe across the top of the himation, corresponding to that on MM 1979:6. The style in which the draped figures are painted occurs on two vases attributed to the Iris Painter.³ Common to these two vases and MM 1979:6 is the influence of the Lecce Painter on the

obverses, while the reverses are unique; they belong to the same production and can be dated to 360–55 B.C.⁴

Maria Christensen

¹ Trendall, A. D. & Cambitoglou, A., *The red-figured vases of Apulia, early and middle Apulian* (abbreviated RVAp), Oxford 1979 (vol. I), pp. 102–133, Pls. 35–43.

² RVAp. p. 129, Pl. 42.3 (Vienna 849); p. 130, Pl. 42.5 (Munich 2395).

³ RVAp. p. 129, Pl. 42.2 (London, V. and A. Museum, 1776–1919); p. 129, Pl. 42.4 (Vienna 849).

⁴ The attribution has been confirmed in a letter (10 November 1983) from Prof. Trendall.

A Roman bronze candelabrum

This candelabrum (inv. no. MM 1984:9) is 108.5 cm high. The shaft is in the shape of three intertwining snakes, each of them wriggling sixteen times round the others. Their tails make up the base, winding out in different directions. The distances between the tips vary from 28 to 30 cm, thus creating a wide base stable enough for the considerable height and weight of the candelabrum.

The shaft is thickest (3.3 cm) where the snakes join above the foot. It then tapers upwards to a minimum of 1.7 cm close to the top, at the point where the snake heads protrude horizontally for c. 4.2 cm from the shaft.

The snakes are rendered in a careful and realistic way. The scales are elaborately incised from heads to tails, and the heads are depicted in detail. The thickness of the bodies is greatest at the point where they join above the foot (2.2 cm), tapering gradually in both directions.

Above a 1.5-cm-high, plain shaft, the candelabrum is crowned by a platform shaped like a reversed bell and decorated with incised leaves. The uppermost part of this platform is a circular disk (diam. 9.1 cm), whose outer edge is decorated with a Doric leaf and an astragal. On the upper surface of the disk, there are three depressed, concentric circles; the innermost is the deepest one and was almost certainly designed for a bronze lamp.

This candelabrum belongs to a well-known, but remarkably neglected class of domestic utensils, which can be followed in central Italy from the Vth century B.C. far into Byzantine times. Etruscan specimens have four horizontal arms with spiked ends intended to hold candles,¹ but in Roman times these were replaced by a platform with a flat disk suitable to carry a bronze lamp.² The shape of that platform is important and may in this case indicate a date in Augustan times.³

Considering the probable date, it is hardly surprising that some close parallels to this snake candelabrum seem to derive from Pompeii.⁴ The shape was apparently never common,⁵ but we may see Pompeian, third-style wall-paintings depicting candelabra with intertwined shafts as a confirmation of its date in the early 1st century A.D.⁶ In those cases we are not dealing with snakes, but the general impression is very similar to that given by our candelabrum.

Concerning the origin of the snake motif, we can only speculate. Snakes occur on Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Etruscan thymiateria, but always merely as a loosely attached decoration.⁷ I know of only one possible prototype for a shaft made up of three intertwining snakes – a bit removed, but perhaps not totally irrelevant – the Delphian snake column.

Örjan Wikander

¹ O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan art*, Harmondsworth 1978 (The Pelican History of Art), pp. 299–300, with n. 30.

² E. Pernice, *Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze*, Berlin & Leipzig 1925 (*Die Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, Vol. IV), pp. 43–57.

³ E. Pernice (*supra* n. 2), pp. 53–54, Abb. 66.

⁴ F. W. Robins, *The story of the lamp (and the candle)*, London, New York & Toronto 1939, p. xi, and frontispiece.

⁵ Nothing of the kind is to be found in the largest publications of candelabra from Pompeii and Herculaneum, each of them illustrating about 60 specimens: *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, Vol. VIII, Napoli 1792, and H. Roux & L. Barré, *Herculaneum und Pompeji*, Vol. VI, Hamburg 1841.

⁶ See, for instance, V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Milano & Roma 1928, Pls. 97–99.

⁷ Ö. Wikander, "Two Etruscan thymiateria in the von Beskow Collection", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18, 1983, p. 55.



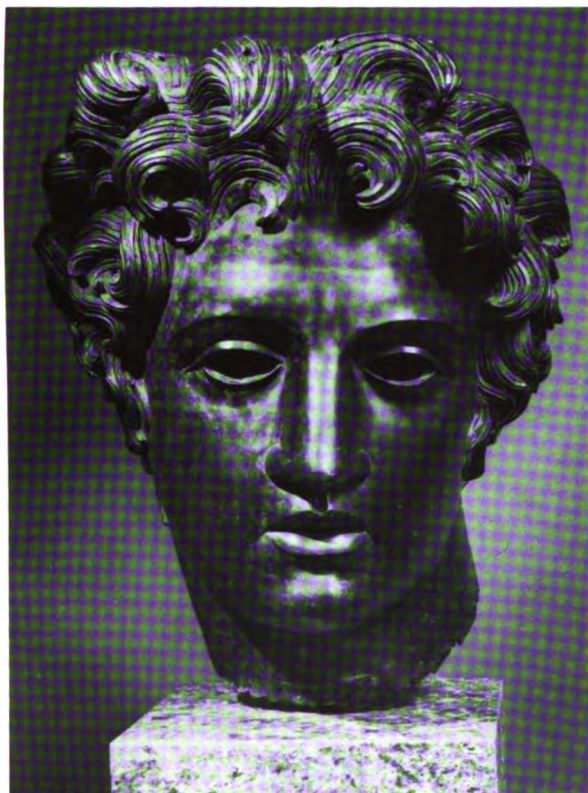
A Bronze Askoid Bowl

Along with the candelabrum (MM 1984:9), described above, the museum acquired an exquisite bronze vessel (inv. no. MM 1984:10). Its shape is perhaps best described as an askoid bowl. The length is 23.3 cm, the width 14.1 cm and the height, including the handle, 17.8 cm. The oblong body has a wide opening with a simple, everted rim. At the bottom, it comes down to a ring-foot. The opening is surmounted by a curved handle. Handle and ring-foot are correspondingly placed towards one end of the vessel.

The handle is a rounded bar which divides into two at both points of attachment. The bar is entwined by a shoot of ivy showing sculptured leaves and berries. On top of the handle sits a bird with a long tail. It is modelled in the round with a surprising amount of detail, especially engraved. At one end of the handle, one finds another ornament, a youthful face represented in relief. Its sharply modelled features appear within a frame of thick hair, which is adorned by the berries of the ivy.

Like the candelabrum, this piece is said to have come originally from Pompeii, which favours a date within the period of the early Empire.

Eva Rystedt



A Roman Bronze Portrait

A slightly more than life-size bronze head was acquired in 1982 as a gift from a donor who had purchased it at an auction sale at Sotheby's in London.¹ The head, which has the inventory no. 1982:3, is 31 cm high and is very well preserved. It has previously been exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum, when that museum was host to an international art dealers' exhibition (*The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Grand Gallery. An International Exhibition under the Auspices of C.I.N.O.A., 19 Oct. 1974–5 Jan. 1975*, New York 1974, p. 100, No. 94). The art dealer who was the owner of the head at that time believed that it was a Hellenistic portrait of Alexander the Great. It should, however, rather be dated to the first or second centuries A.C., but it has not yet been possible to identify the portrait. It was first presented to the Swedish public in *Medelhavsmuseet – En introduktion*, Stockholm 1982, pp. 196–197.

Pontus Hellström

¹ Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Antiquities*, 14–15 Dec. 1981, No. 289; *Art at Auction, The Year at Sotheby's 1981–82*, London 1982, p. 312.



A Roman Bronze Relief

In 1984, the museum received as a gift a large bronze relief, purchased by the donor at Sotheby's in December 1983¹ (inv. no. MM 1984:3). Its length is 63.5 cm and its height 46 cm. The depth of the relief is 5.5 cm. The relief preserves remains of gilding. The panel is decorated with a quadriga facing to the left and a charioteer, who is getting up into the chariot with a whip in his hand. Some perforations around the rim of the panel have presumably served in the mounting of the panel, probably on the side of a chariot like the one depicted on the relief.

There is no information about the provenience of this object, which should be dated to the Roman Imperial period.

Pontus Hellström

¹ Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Antiquities*, 12–13 Dec. 1983, No. 382.

Activities 1983–1984

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

Together with 61 other new museums, the Museum took part in the competition for the European Museum of the Year Award for 1983. At a ceremony in the Hotel de Ville in Paris on May 4th 1984, the Museum received one of the nine special prizes, which were presented by the wife of the mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac.

During the period from July 1st 1983 to June 30th 1984 the Museum continued its activities in the new provisional premises for the second year. While the first year can be considered as a complete success, the second year turned out to be the time, when the deficiencies of the new museum appeared. The main problem is the lack of sufficient space for temporary exhibitions.

During the year a hall of 50 m² on the first floor has been used for this purpose, but an area of this limited size has not been big enough to give sufficient publicity to attract the public. The problem could probably be solved, if the Museum could make use of a room of 160 m² on the ground floor of the same building which previously was used as a book shop.

From the beginning, the premises were considered as provisional for a period of five years, but through a decision of the government on March 15th 1984 the Museum has been secured the right to use them for ten years. On the other hand, the Museum would be prepared to stay permanently in the new premises on the condition that a total of 3000 m² are placed at its disposal in or close to the present building.

Several objects from various periods of Pharaonic Egypt were acquired by the Egyptian Department. From the Old Kingdom comes a small offering table in limestone and from the Middle Kingdom a model of a wooden granary as well as a monumental statue in quartzite, representing a private man seated. Through its unusual size for a private sculpture, it is an important

contribution to the study of Egyptian art in the Museum. The New Kingdom is represented by three reliefs of limestone from Amarna, two of which are of special interest, because the motifs are found in the palace decoration of Akhenaten's capital (storehouse and stable). From the first millenium B.C. come several bronze figures, among which is a standing figure of high quality showing Isis with wings, a sitting Isis with the child Horus and a standing Osiris. A sculptured model in limestone of a foot is from the Ptolemaic period as well as a crocodile mummy. From the Late Roman Imperial period in Egypt are some well preserved glass vessels from the Fayum area and a Coptic relief from Middle Egypt with a bird motif.

The Graeco-Roman Department has received and acquired some important objects. Quite unique is a bronze relief from the Roman Imperial period, 0,60 × 0,50 m in size, representing a team of four horses in front of a chariot with charioteer. The relief was probably attached to the side of a racing chariot of the type represented. It is an important addition to the Roman collections of the Museum. A most important contribution to the Greek collections is an Attic grave stele of marble with a representation in high relief of a standing man, who is saying farwell to a seated woman. In the background another woman is standing looking at the scene in front of her. This relief is a very typical example of funeral art in Athens in the middle of the 4th century B.C.

Among other acquisitions the following may be mentioned. A Roman thymiaterion of bronze in the shape of three intertwined serpents, a Roman bronze askos, an Etruscan terracotta plate of the Genucilia group, a Punic amphora and three Roman vases from Tunisia, four glass vessels from Israel and a terracotta figurine from the area of Tyre. The objects with provenance are



Photos from temporary exhibitions: Horus – An Egyptian God (above) and Greek Pottery (below).



gifts, the others are purchases.

The exhibition activity in the new premises started with the exhibition "Carthage – An Archaeological Rescue Project", which was shown during the period June 1st to August 31st 1983. It consisted of a limited number of objects found in the excavations carried out by the Museum.

During the period September 16th to October 16th 1983 the exhibition – "Ancient Vases in Modern Painting by Mikael Kihlman" was shown. Here the paintings were exhibited together with the ancient vases, which were represented on them. During the period November 2nd 1983 to March 4th 1984 the exhibition "One Thousand Years of Greek Pottery" was shown. It will later be sent on loan to other museums in Sweden and Finland. On April 2nd 1984 the exhibition "Horus – An Egyptian God" was opened.

On June 6th 1984 the Museum was host to an international meeting of members of the new ICOM-section for Egyptology, which was founded in 1983.

As before, the excavations at Chania on Crete, with Dr Erik Hallager as field director, were administered by the Museum. These Greek-Swedish excavations are carried out in collaboration with Dr Yannis Tzedakis, the General Director of the Greek Archaeological Ser-

vice. Funds for a final campaign in the summer 1984 have been raised from both sides and the excavations are planned to start in the beginning of June.

The archaeological crypt, covering the Late Roman bath, which was excavated at Carthage in 1979–1980 by the Museum, was inaugurated as a subterranean museum in June 1983 and officially handed over to the Tunisian archaeological authorities. A photo exhibition on the excavations has been put together by Mrs Birgitta Sander, the field director of the excavations, for display at the Carthage congress in Trois-Rivières in Canada in October 1984.

During the year, Bulletin 18, 1983, was published. It contained scientific articles on objects in the collections of the Museum. In addition two volumes in the Memoir series were published. Memoir 4, 1983, by Dr Mary Blomberg, was entitled *Observations on the Dodwell Painter* and Memoir 5, 1984, by Dr Ingegerd Lindblad, was entitled *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*. Further two titles in a new series in Swedish were published, the first a monograph on the god Horus by Dr Beate George and the second a bibliography of literature in Swedish on Pharaonic Egypt by Dr Bengt Peterson.

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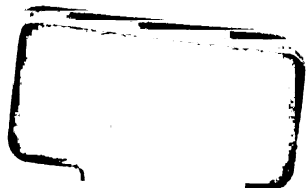
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